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SPEECHES FROM ZHUOZHOU CONFERENCE, 1987

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China

Speeches From Zhuozhou Conference, 1987

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Speeches From Zhuozhou Conference, 1987

Purpose, Tasks of Zhuozhou Conference

HK1520132090 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese
14 Feb 90 p 3

[Article by Yi Ren (1707 0086), originally carried in WENYI LILUN YU PIPING No 1, 24 January 1990: "The Ins and Outs of the Zhuozhou Conference"]

[Text] The Zhuozhou Conference was a forum jointly held by the Literature and Art Section of HONGQI, the Literature and Art Section of GUANGMING RIBAO, and the Editorial Department of WENYI LILUN YU PIPING [THEORY AND CRITICISM OF LITERATURE AND ARTS], for soliciting contributions under the guidance and direct care of the CPC Central Propaganda Department. The meeting was held from 6 to 12 April 1987 in Zhuozhou City, Hebei Province. Therefore, it was later called the "Zhuozhou Conference" (or "Zhuoxian Conference").

1. The Origin of the Conference

In the winter of 1986, the student unrest in Hefei, Shanghai, and Nanjing spread to more than 20 cities in all parts of the country in a short period of time. The college students not only went out of the school gates and took to the streets, but some of them also stormed the offices of the local party and government leading organs, thus seriously affecting the stability of public order in the whole country and disrupting the great cause of socialist modernization. The main cause of the student unrest lay inside the party. In 1985, because the whole party rather seriously implemented the relevant resolutions adopted by the national party delegate conference, the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization, which became more and more serious after the fourth congress of the Writers' Association, was somewhat restrained. However, in January 1986, the situation which was getting more favorable, began to develop in the opposite direction. One of the major reasons was that some leaders, deviating from the four cardinal principles, advocated the so-called policy of "ease, tolerance, and generosity" [kuansong, kuanrong, kuanhou 1401 2646, 1401 1369, 1401, 0629]. Some even held that such concepts as democracy, freedom, equality, and universal fraternity should not be left to and only used by the bourgeoisie. In addition, some people who insisted on advocating bourgeois liberalization, such as Fang Lizhi, Liu Binyan, and Wang Ruowang (they were all Communist Party members at that time), took advantage of the opportunity of the political structural reform to inflame and agitate people everywhere, and to peddle their political opinions. They called for discarding the four cardinal principles and introducing wholesale Westernization. In particular, after July 1986, they held all kinds of discussion meetings, commemoration meetings, and explanation meetings of various sizes, attended by people from various localities and from various departments at the same

time. The ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization once again ran rampant in newspapers and journals, and occupied a considerable part of the opinion positions in the party and the government. If the liberalization trend appearing after the fourth congress of the Writers' Association was confined mainly to some intellectual and literary issues, then its comeback in 1986 was of a much more serious character. The spearhead was directed at the Communist Party's leadership, socialism, the people's democratic dictatorship, and Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. This made ideological preparations for the nationwide student unrest in the winter of 1986.

In view of the serious state of events, the party central leadership issued Documents No. 1, No. 2, No. 3, No. 4, and No. 8 successively from 6 January to 16 March 1987, to issue a combat call to the whole party and the whole people throughout the country to uphold the four cardinal principles and fight against bourgeois liberalization. In order to smoothly unfold the political struggle, the party central leadership also laid down relevant policies and points for attention in good time.

As Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out in a speech, "At present, there is an ideological trend among some people, especially some young people. That ideological trend is liberalization. Those who banged the drum for such an idea, including those who made comments in Hong Kong and Taiwan, all opposed our four cardinal principles and urged us to follow the capitalist practice to the full. It seemed to them that only by doing so could we be considered as really pursuing modernization. What did they in fact advocate? Such liberalization would just shift China's present policies onto the capitalist road. Therefore, liberalization itself can only be bourgeois liberalization. This ideological trend is trying to guide us to capitalism."

In order to better follow the party's basic line in literary and art work, and to implement the decisions made by the party central leadership and Comrade Xiaoping to cope with the situation of the time, the above-mentioned participants decided to hold the forum so that they would link the work of soliciting contributions with studying the central documents, understanding the intention of the central leadership of waging the struggle against liberalization, and raising their awareness through deepgoing thinking. Experts, scholars, editors, writers, and art theorists were invited to the meeting. In addition, the national meeting of art and literature department directors held by the central Propaganda Department also sent representatives to the forum as observers. The forum was attended by a total of more than 120 people. Some veterans in the theoretical and literature and art circles, such as Xiong Fu, Lin Mohan, Liu Baiyu, Yao Xueyin, Ma Zhongyang, and Chen Yong, attended the meeting. He Jingzhi, deputy director of the Central Propaganda department, also attended the meeting to give guidance. Comrade Li Wenshan, deputy secretary of the Hebei provincial party committee, and

other local cadres also met with all forum participants in the capacity of hosts and gave speeches at the meeting.

2. The Central Task of the Conference

The central task of the forum was to seriously study the series of relevant documents issued by the central leadership since early 1987, and to study Comrade Deng Xiaoping's important speeches about opposing bourgeois liberalization. The study was linked with the review of the actual state of the spread of the bourgeois liberalization trend in the political and ideological fields, including literature and art. Comrade He Jingzhi, deputy director of the central Propaganda Department, called on the participants to take their pens and join hands in meeting the serious challenge from the bourgeois liberalization trend. At the same time, he also asked them to unite the great majority of comrades in literary and art circles and to strictly confine their actions to the limits prescribed by the political policies laid down by the central leadership. He said that critical articles should be written in a style that can move the people with warmth and convince the people with cogent arguments so as to make the articles acceptable, readable, and scientific. They should not use "leftism" to criticize rightism, because that would just achieve negative results. In his speech, Comrade Xiong Fu first said that he was greatly inspired by the domestic major climate of combatting liberalization that was taking shape; and then he asked the Marxist forces on the theoretical and cultural fronts to join hands in waging the struggle against bourgeois liberalization. In his speech, Comrade Ma Zhongyang used facts and data he had collected to show that the Western capitalist countries, mainly the U.S. Government, had always pinned their hope for "peaceful evolution" on the liberalization forces in the socialist countries. Effecting "peaceful evolution" in various socialist countries, including our country, remains the basic state policy pursued by all U.S. administrations. Over the past several decades, before and after diplomatic relations were established with our country, the United States has never changed its policy for effecting "peaceful evolution," and has never been vague on this matter. Comrade Liu Baiyu, a veteran writer, mainly reviewed the five rounds of struggle over the previous more than seven years since the central leadership put forward the four cardinal principles in March 1979, to the unfolding of the antiliberalization struggle in spring 1987. He also expressed his opinion on developing socialist literature and art with Chinese characteristics, which should mainly be the socialist literature and art's popular and revolutionary character.

In his talk, Comrade Lin Mohan [2651 7817 3211] analyzed why bourgeois liberalization had surfaced in literary and art circles, some conditions of the current struggle, and the need to attach great importance to and do a good job in the current struggle. In conclusion, he pointed out that bourgeois liberalization was under the shield of some people from above, and it went on for such a long period that it was shaped into an ideological trend and a force; moreover, it gained support from

Hong Kong, Macao, Taiwan, and foreign forces. Whenever there were some signs of activity at home, action was sure to take place overseas. For example, when students started trouble, the Voice of America would actively fan the flames. He also pointed out that we must be highly vigilant against such a condition and deal with it earnestly. To adhere to reform and opening up, we must adhere to the four cardinal principles. Solemnly he said that the struggle to oppose bourgeois liberalization was a matter of first importance that had a bearing on the fate of the party and the state. The effects of bourgeois liberalization were great, but many people had not yet seen the importance and danger of this issue... we have nothing to fear for the party, the people, and the country. We should participate in the struggle ourselves, and unite more people to join in the struggle. Let a powerful contingent of Marxist-Leninist theorists be brought up and built in the current struggle.

In his talk, Comrade Chen Yong [7115 8673] analyzed the accomplishments and problems in the decade of literature in the new period. He required linking criticism against bourgeois liberalization in literature and art to the building of Marxist theory, namely, linking the break with bourgeois liberalization to the establishment of Marxist theory. Besides, he dealt with study style and literary style. In conclusion he pointed out that no matter what great pressure we were subjected to in the past, we were firm in the belief that Marxism would eventually be accepted by people. He said that our work could be arduous, and our road could still be long and winding. Veteran writer Yao Xueyin [1202 7185 0995] delivered a long speech at the meeting. He talked about his interview with Hong Kong and Macao reporters on the issue of one country and two systems. He told the reporters that we should not force the mainland social system on Hong Kong. However, Hong Kong should also refrain from interfering with the mainland. Should Hong Kong force anything on us, we will criticize it.

In his speech, Comrade Meng Weizai [1322 0251 2707] analyzed the conditions of the ideological trends of bourgeois liberalization on three tiers. The first tier included those people who consciously and systematically put forth total Westernization for China; they advocated taking the road of capitalism, and opposed the four cardinal principles. People in this category were only a handful. There were more people on the second tier; however, their advocacy was not so systematic as those people in the first category. They had doubts mainly about the party and socialism, and wavered. People on the third tier were mostly affected by the ideological trends of bourgeois liberalization. He said that we should not pursue the practice of taking class struggle as the key, and turn opposing bourgeois liberalization into a political movement as in the past. Struggle should be strictly confined to the party, and to the ideological, theoretical and cultural spheres. Efforts should be exerted mainly to find a solution to problems concerning political orientation and principles. In his talk, he also issued a circular on the conditions of the

publication of the novelette entitled *Show Your Tongue Coating or Nothingness*, which insulted and uglified Tibetan compatriots, carried in the joint No. 1 and No. 2 1987 issue of RENMIN WENXUE [PEOPLE'S LITERATURE], and the mistakes committed by its editorial department.

Having listened to reports of the meeting in the course of the forum, Comrade Wang Renzhi, director of the CPC Central Committee Propaganda Department, said, "This meeting has done a good job! The Central Committee has formulated a series of policies and instructions on opposing bourgeois liberalization. It is hoped that comrades will earnestly implement them, linking to the conditions of the literary and art circles, and unfold criticism in literary and art theory. We hope that socialist literature and art will become more prosperous!"

In addition, topics organized by three papers and journals were circulated at the forum. Comrade Zheng Bonong [6774 0130 6593], deputy editor in chief of WENYI LILUN YU PIPING WENYI, made explanations on the topics on behalf of the three editorial departments. Through weeklong study and discussions, the comrades participating the forum reached a common understanding on the following issues. Unanimously they believed that the current struggle of opposing liberalization was mainly confined to theoretical, political, and ideological struggles. However, a clear-cut stand must be taken. The forum hoped that its participants would pick up the weapon of criticism as soon as the forum concluded, and take action right away. In writing critical articles, one must adhere to the four cardinal principles, reform, and opening up, and link closely to China's national conditions. In addition, one should make a meticulous analysis of the theoretical issue to be expounded on the basis of possessing voluminous materials; and the article must be to the point and convincing. It was necessary to treat critical articles as the course of solemn scientific research and to do one's best to make the articles the result of scientific research in illustrating China's practical problems with Marxism, and criticizing erroneous thinking, as required in central documents. It was required that critical articles convey clear-cut concepts, have sufficient grounds, and be colorful. Regarding articles criticizing liberalization, those being criticized would have the right and opportunity to defend themselves.

In recent years, our publications have spread many contemporary Western bourgeois erroneous ideas and theoretical concepts in world outlook, in historical concepts, political concepts, artistic concepts, decadent outlook on life, value concepts, and moral concepts, and have resulted in very bad effects on young students. Those things are precisely the ideological and theoretical grounds for the flooding of the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization. The criticism against those erroneous concepts will be helpful to mop up the effects of the ideological trend of liberalization, and to clarify right and wrong in ideology and theory.

In criticizing liberalization, we should continue to firmly and persistently adhere to the party's "let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools contend" principle. It is necessary to persistently support the academic spirit of bold exploration. We should allow all kinds of mistakes and shortcomings to possibly surface in exploration. In short, it is imperative to adhere to, and to develop Marxist theory, so that academic thinking and cultural and art undertakings may be invigorated and thrive healthily.

3. The Major Climate of "Opposing Liberalization" Has Suddenly Changed in the Wake of the Forum

The Zhuozhou Conference was a very important one. "The conference did a good job, which found expression in all the participants in the conference deepening their understanding of opposing liberalization, enhancing the consciousness of waging struggles against liberalization, and elevating their theoretical and policy levels through focal study, discussion, and mutual consultation for several days running. Under normal conditions, the Zhuozhou Conference would produce positive social effects. During the course of the conference, some participants expressed their worries on whether or not the current struggle against liberalization would be smoothly unfolded, or be nipped in the bud in view of the experiences and lessons of the sudden interruption of the 1983 elimination of spiritual pollution (which was, in essence, a struggle against liberalization.) Unfortunately, such worries were not superfluous. However many people did not expect that a heavy cost would be paid for that.

With eyes fixed on the Zhuozhou Conference were then Acting General Secretary Comrade Zhao Ziyang, and his think tank, which consisted of "elite" as well as overseas anticommunist forces. The Zhuozhou Conference concluded on 12 April 1987, but GUANGMING RIBAO covered it only on 21 April. A few days later, Bao Tong [7637 1749], secretary to Zhao Ziyang, concurrently director of the CPC Central Committee Research Center for the Reform of Political Structure, sent a man to take away all recording tapes and bulletins of the conference. Following that, rumors spread in the provinces that mistakes were committed at the Zhuozhou Conference. Some delegates originally planned to relay the spirit of the conference when they returned to their work units, and their plans were canceled in silence. At almost the same time, some bulletins issued at that conference were spread overseas through some unknown channels. Thus, some people at home and overseas, from the top to the grassroots, worked hand-in-glove, acting from inside in coordination with attack from outside, and launched a joint encirclement and suppression of the Zhuozhou Conference. They did their best in fabrication and slander, using all kinds of dirty tricks with the most malicious motives, which were shocking. Such political rumors then found their way back to Beijing, and became grounds for some people to pursue cultural dictatorship. Here we should like to cite a few examples:

Hong Kong's HSING PAO DAILY NEWS carried an article entitled "On the Speech by Xiang Fu [3574 1788] at the Zhuozhou Conference," (written by Lu Keng [7120 6972], 16 May 1987 issue), in which the author threw mud at the Zhuozhou Conference, saying, "allowing the conference the highest standard for meals, which was said to be even higher than the standard set for the Air Force, as a lure, they hoped to rally scholars from various parts of the country to organize a huge writing body to launch attacks on theoretical problems in literature and art in the pattern of Liang Xiao [2773 2400] (the two schools) and Luo Siding [5012 4828 7844] (screw) as organized by Jiang Qing during the Great Cultural Revolution to charge forward on the theoretical, literary, and art fronts." With evil intentions he even said that the conference attempted to "organize a great encirclement and suppression on the reformers on the theoretical, literary, and art fields" (Author's own note: He openly beautified those people pursuing liberalization as some reformers.)

An article carried in the journal CHING PAO [THE MIRROR], entitled "Backdrop of the Secret Documents of the Zhuozhou Conference" (by Shi Hua [2457 5478], July 1987 issue), said, "By no means was the conference an ordinary 'forum to organize contributions,' but a conference convened by the Central Committee Propaganda Department, with speeches delivered by out-and-out 'leftist' theorists on literature and art to give orders to party officials in charge of literature and art of all provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions nationwide," and a "factionalist conference" at that. The author of this article also slandered, saying that participants of the conference were "the ultraleftists of the literary and art circles, who have specialized in using the big stick in recent years."

The reactionary journal CHIUSHI NIENTAI [THE NINETIES] carried a signed article by Lu Jingshi [7120 0079 1102] (July 1987 issue) which raved that "through the Zhuozhou Conference, the ultraleftist faction attempted to heat up 'the campaign to oppose the bourgeoisie' (author's note: that is, 'opposing liberalization') to occupy strongholds prior to the 13th CPC Congress to be held in September this year." He fabricated, saying, "the standard for reward fixed at the forum for organizing articles is 90 yuan per thousand characters, tenfold that of general press articles on the mainland." Then, he continued to fabricate, "Not long ago, the writing body under Deng Lique, Lin Mohan, Wang Renzhi, and He Jingzhi dished up some 400 articles criticizing 'liberalization.' Regrettably, it is said that none of those articles solicited with high price was presentable after much deliberation and selection by Chen Yong, Yao Xueyin, and Zang Kejia." They even made all kinds of malicious personal attacks on the veteran proletarian revolutionaries and leading members of the literary and art and theoretical fronts, labeling them "leftist kings." CHIUSHI NIENTAI even lied, saying that the Research Center for Policy under the direction of Deng Lique had "prepared sinister materials for attack" by compiling a so-called "blacklist of 10

persons," a "blacklist of seven gentlemen (with two of them deleted later on)," so on and so forth.

A speech at an important meeting on 13 May 1987 (that is, the 13 May speech) by Comrade Zhao Ziyang in the capacity of acting general secretary, suddenly altered from opposing bourgeois liberalization to opposing "leftism." After that, the major climate of opposing liberalization suffered a reversal. Just as CHIUSHI NIENTAI (July 1987 issue) put it: "Opposing rightist trends has suddenly changed to opposing 'leftism.' China's political situation has undergone some changes." A signed article by Fang Liang [2455 0081] carried in CHIUSHI NIENTAI (July issue) said, "The speech delivered by Zhao Ziyang, CPC Central Committee general secretary, at the rally for 1,000 people at Huirentang, Zhongnanhai, has launched a counterattack on the leftist political forces, which have pressed forward inch by inch." CHIUSHI NIENTAI also reported, saying, "The wind direction has suddenly changed, and a violent brake has been applied to opposing liberalization. The inside story of the changes can be rather delicate."

Since Comrade Zhao Ziyang was in charge of the Central Committee, he continued to adopt a series of organizational measures which were proved, then or later on, to be greatly inspiring to those people who held fast to bourgeois liberalization, with some people who stubbornly clung to the position of bourgeois liberalization shielded, while personalities such as Bao Tong, Chen Yizi, and Yan Jiaqi were promoted to important posts.

The leaders who persisted in engaging in bourgeois liberalization congratulated each other and were extremely excited. The Hong Kong opinion circles in support of bourgeois liberalized elements on the mainland sang the praises of Zhao Ziyang with an article titled "The Spring Amid the Autumn." An article in CHIUSHI NIENTAI remarked that Zhao Ziyang was extremely clever in removing two "poisonous stings" with one single move. Zhao Ziyang was also praised in Western opinion circles as a man with an "iron hand."

With a single move Zhao Ziyang struck down the anti-bourgeois liberalization forces and what followed was a wave of anti-"leftist" noise. After that, liberalized thinking on the political and ideological front line became increasingly stronger and unscrupulous, until it colluded with foreign reactionary forces and fermented the turmoil and the horrific counterrevolutionary rebellion in Beijing between last spring and summer.

4. Several Points of Consensus After Reflection

In the speech he made when meeting with the cadres of the Beijing martial law enforcement troops at or above the army level on the fifth day after quelling the Beijing counterrevolutionary rebellion, that is, on 9 June, Comrade Deng Xiaoping asked us to "soberly review the past and consider the future" and emphasized that "we must grasp things with two hands, with one on reform and opening up, and the other on the severe crackdown on

economic crimes, which includes paying attention to ideological and political work. Looking back today, there has been an obvious inadequacy concerning these two matters. One hand has been relatively tough and the other soft. There cannot be balance when one is tough while the other is soft. It just will not coordinate." Was not the path we had been treading exactly as he described? That was why: 1) The struggle to eliminate spiritual pollution in 1983 lasted for only 28 days and was nipped halfway. Moreover, they allowed a number of people to slander revolutionary comrades actively participating in the struggle to eliminate spiritual pollution as "dirt washers." The result was that liberalized thinking grew increasingly unbridled, which led finally to the occurrence in many large and medium-sized cities across the country of the serious incident of student riots. The antiliberization struggle launched in spring 1987 was going smoothly when Comrade Zhao Ziyang stopped the struggle. He even adopted a lenient policy toward the evil elements, thus allowing them to recuperate, which is like sowing trouble for oneself by leaving a carbuncle untreated. Thus, liberalized thinking was allowed to grow unchecked. By the end of last spring or the beginning of summer, Comrade Zhao Ziyang had gone even further and finally he simply joined the liberalized thinking current and supported the turmoil at the expense of splitting the party, with the result that the party and the country had to pay a dear price. Therefore, we cannot at any time allow our hands to grow soft concerning liberalization. We must grasp to the full the struggle against liberalization. 2) The literary circles have been the area badly hit by bourgeois liberalized thinking. We must pay full attention to this situation. In fact, it is not difficult to understand the situation. A glimpse of the theoretical articles, novels, poetry, reportage, art, music, and plays published in recent years in representative central and local literary journals preaching liberalization will be enough to make one scared. Now there are some people who are very afraid of someone leafing through their past journals. We must completely reverse this situation and oppose with a clear-cut stand, bourgeois liberalization in literary and art circles. 3) The major contradiction in the literary and art front line has not been the contradiction between one conservative faction fossilized in thinking and the reform and opening up faction, nor has it been one between this or that group of people. It has been the contradiction of two ideologies, two stands and world outlooks—between bourgeois liberalization and perseverance in the four cardinal principles. Facts have repeatedly proved that liberalized thinking has been a destructive intellectual current for reform and opening up. So we must oppose the bourgeois liberalization with confidence and a sense of justice, adhere to the four cardinal principles, the "one center and two basic points," the principle of literature and art serving the people and the direction of socialism and, under the socialist direction, the reform and opening up and the policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools contend. We must make sure that the literary and artistic opinion circles are in the hands of those who adhere to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong

Thought, resolutely maintain oneness with the party central authorities and implement the party's literary and artistic direction and policies. Only thus will we be able to unify comrades in the literary and art circles to fight together and struggle to realize the target. 4) Bourgeois liberalized thinking can only create confusion in literary and artistic thinking, lead literary and artistic creation on an evil path. Only under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, and only by going deep among the masses and into life, will literary and artistic creation correspond with the requirements of literary and artistic regularities and thus prosper. And only this prosperity is genuine and represents a genuine socialist one.

Leading Figures Give Speeches

He Jingzhi

90ON0459A Beijing WENYI LILUN YU PIPING
[THEORY AND CRITICISM OF LITERATURE AND
ARTS] in Chinese No 1, 24 Jan 90 pp 34-35

[Article: "Comrade He Jingzhi's (6320 2417 0037)
Speech (Excerpts)"]

[Text] I am very much in favor of this seminar that has been convened by three units on the commissioning of articles. For quite a few years, no meeting of literature and arts department heads has been held, so this opportunity was taken to invite them, too. Everyone is gathered to study pertinent Central Committee documents, to exchange some information, and to reach some consensus.

I have two wishes. My first wish is that comrades who approve and support Marxism will take pen in hand and start writing. The other wish is that everyone will join hands. Today, when a fundamental turnaround has occurred in the country's ideological and political atmosphere, comrades must take up their pens to write articles criticizing the bourgeois liberal trend of thought and to criticize various unhealthy tendencies such as the departure from the socialist path and the departure from the Marxist road so that our literary and artistic creations and our literary and artistic criticism will develop in a healthy way to make a proper contribution to the building of a distinctively Chinese socialist literature and art. The overly dispersed and sometimes isolated and bereft state of affairs that formerly existed has to be overcome. Comrade Zhao Ziyang said it is necessary to strengthen the Marxist theory corps.¹ The literature and arts theory corps is an indispensable part of this. It is necessary to strengthen a socialist literature and arts theory corps in which Marxists are the mainstay and that brings about widespread unity. Such a corps has different levels, with Marxists having a rather high level of attainment being the mainstays. Without such mainstay cadres, such a corps will be unable to provide momentum. However, with only such mainstay cadres, the corps will be weak. Thus, it is necessary to organize and link hands within a large area. Certainly, Marxist

literature and arts theory workers are not limited to those in attendance here. Much less is it only Marxists that we want to unite. In addition to wanting to study how to write articles at this meeting, we also want to study the ideological building and organizational building of the literature and arts corps. We want to improve ourselves, in order to improve the level of the struggle and play a greater role. I believe that this meeting can make very good achievements in these two regards.

From the issuance of Central Committee Document No. 1 until the present time, the unchecked spread of the bourgeois liberal trend of thought has begun to be turned around. Today, the situation on the literature and arts front is very good. One may say that during the last several years, the unchecked spread of the bourgeois liberal trend of thought has been truly halted. This is not the first time. However, one still cannot say that an illustrious victory has been attained in the struggle against the bourgeois liberal trend of thought. We should not be blindly optimistic. The struggle will take a long time, and the tasks are still fairly daunting.

In all previous struggles against bourgeois liberalism and opposition to rightist tendencies, problems of "leftism" opposing rightism appeared within certain limits and to a certain extent. This point deserves our attention. Accepting past experiences, this time the CPC Central Committee prescribed policy limits first, stating from the very beginning that there is to be no "leftism" opposing rightism. This is perfectly correct.

A point deserving even greater attention today is that some comrades still do not understand the struggle against bourgeois liberalism. They are ideologically removed, and they have some conflicting feelings. Some comrades hope that this struggle will pass very quickly. We must take the full measure of these circumstances. The CPC Central Committee is determined about this struggle. If we cannot keep pace, a disjunction between top and bottom may occur. Going through the motions will not do. Right up until Central Committee Document No. 8 was issued, leading comrades in some central literary and arts units still sidestepped the bourgeois liberal problem in their own units, and sidestepped the issue of the fourth Writers' Association Congress. Even now, some comrades still suppose that RENMIN WENXUE [PEOPLE'S LITERATURE] (issues of January and February) is simply a nationalities policy issue. They do not admit that this is the result of the unchecked spread of the bourgeois liberal trend of thought and other erroneous trends of thought. This shows that a lot of work remains to be done. Today, there is a lot of gossip and rumors, especially in central literature and arts units. This should arouse our vigilance.

Comrades on the literature and arts front today should first study two books in accordance with a recent notice from the Central Propaganda Department, and also study the spirit of pertinent Central Committee documents. For people in the literary and arts field to study

Marxism-Leninism, and to study Central Committee documents is a serious task, and numerous comrades in numerous units do not devote serious attention to it, with the result that they may easily suffer great misery. Comrade Deng Xiaoping's congratulatory speech to the fourth Literature and Arts Congress is a programmatic document, yet some comrades remember only a single sentence of it: "Do not interfere harshly and unreasonably." In the study of Central Committee Document No. 4, they also remember only a single sentence: "Without exception, no purification [of the ranks] is to be conducted. To treat Central Committee documents with such an attitude is incorrect.

Second is the need for conscientious restructuring of the literature and arts public opinion front, and literature and arts newspapers and periodicals. There are quite a few problems with literature and arts newspapers and periodicals, some of them rather serious ones. Moreover, generally speaking, literature and arts newspapers and periodicals are too numerous and too indiscriminate. They should be reregistered, and permits issued. During the unchecked spread of the bourgeois liberal trend of thought, some literature and arts newspapers and periodicals carry an unshirkable responsibility. Among them, some ranking central newspapers and periodicals have a very bad influence. Some slogans typical of bourgeois liberalism, such as "rehabilitate capitalism" have been issued by literature and arts newspapers and periodicals. Restructuring of literature and arts newspapers and periodicals just has to be done. The dissemination of systematic bourgeois liberal views through forums and other literature and arts campaigns should also be investigated and studied to clarify the nature of the problem, and to distinguish clearly between theoretical right and wrong, using diverse methods to launch criticism and self-criticism. Naturally, this task must be conducted carefully and in detail.

Our literature and arts corps must be educated in adherence to the four basic principles and opposition to bourgeois liberalism, and education must be conducted in a scientific Marxist view of literature and art, and in the socialist policy and line toward literature and art. For party member literature and arts workers, education must also be given in the principles of party spirit and the party constitution. At the same time, our cadres and the masses should also be propagandized in the scientific Marxist view of literature and the arts. Literature and arts units and the literature and arts corps should also be restructured, both ideologically and organizationally. This restructuring should be based on the two basic points of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the first of which is adherence to the four basic principles, and the second of which is to uphold reform and opening to the outside world.

In addition is the need to do better ideological and political work. Theoretical articles must be written. In the near term, the general thrust of the short editorials and articles that newspapers and periodicals publish should be on the mark, relaying the spirit of the Central

Committee. But simply to write articles is not enough; forceful political and ideological work must also be done, and this should be a thread that runs from beginning to end.

Articles must relate to realities. Whether a person does or does not recognize that a bourgeois liberal trend of thought exists on the literature and arts front is an important practical issue. Research must be done, facts presented, and reasonable arguments advanced. Complex theoretical questions pertaining to literature and the arts must be studied and analyzed. Unless Marxism holds a dominant position in this regard, it will be impossible for socialist literature and art to flourish.

I also approve of a reexamination of those comrades who uphold Marxism. We must be fully ideologically prepared for the twists and turns, as well as the arduousness of the struggle against the bourgeois liberal trend of thought. That the unchecked spread of the bourgeois liberal trend of thought has been able to reach such serious proportions during the past several years is the result of lack of full ideological preparation. Nor did we ever imagine that adherence to Marxism would be so difficult, and that we would sometimes have to carry on a tortuous struggle in a country in which Marxism holds a commanding position. We have to reexamine all these matters, using reexamination to improve ourselves.

We will certainly support comrades who uphold Marxism with administrative and organizational measures, including pay and benefits according to position and rank.

As a result of efforts over a period of time, an institute—the Marxist Literature and Arts Theoretical Institute—and a publication—WENYI LILUN YU PIPING [LITERATURE AND ARTS THEORY AND CRITICISM]—have been founded, and consideration is also being given to the founding of a study society—the Chinese Marxist Literature and Arts Theoretical Study Society. Comrades concerned have drawn up a draft charter about which we also want to hear the views of comrades at this meeting.

(Based on a collation of notes and not reviewed by the person concerned.)

Footnote

1. At this time, Comrade Zhao Ziyang was general secretary of the CPC Central Committee. His true colors in shielding and abetting bourgeois liberalism had not yet been completely exposed.

Lin Mohan

90ON0461A Beijing WENYI LILUN YU PIPING [THEORY AND CRITICISM OF LITERATURE AND ARTS] in Chinese No 1, 24 Jan 90 pp 36-37

[Article: "Lin Mohan's (2651 7817 3211) Speech (Excerpts)"]

[Text] I consider this article-commissioning conference convened by three editorial departments to be very important. It is a conference for the study of Central

Committee documents, to uphold the four basic principles, and to oppose bourgeois liberalism; it is a conference for the study of how to put into effect the spirit of the Central Committee in the building of a Marxist theory on literature and the arts; and it is also a conference for the denunciation of bourgeois liberalism. After hearing the statements of some comrades, I understand that many situations, problems, and matters during the period of unchecked spread of bourgeois liberalism angered people. I will express views on three points in this speech.

1. Why Has Bourgeois Liberalism Appeared in Literature and the Arts at This Time?

The CPC Central Committee is now solemnly proposing adherence to the four basic principles and opposition to bourgeois liberalism, but some people, particularly young people, do not understand this struggle and feel that it has come about all of a sudden. Actually, the struggle between these two ideologies, two theories, and two lines has been going on for a long time in the political, ideological, and cultural fields. This struggle has existed for the eight years since Comrade Xiaoping first espoused adherence to the four basic principles in 1979, and it is still going on. It has permeated the entire period of socialist history. So long as the opening to the outside world continues under socialism, this struggle will continue to exist. Comrade Xiaoping said that it will have to be conducted for at least 50 years. Some people imagine that, because the clearing of corruption lasted for 28 days, this will go on for 56 days at most, but I think this is an illusion.

Numerous contradictions exist in the literature and arts world such as contradictions between new and old authors, contradictions among authors from different provinces and regions, contradictions among associations and societies, and so on. But these are not of primary importance. The most fundamental matter during the past several years has been whether to uphold a correct policy since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee, or whether to approach a correct policy from a "leftist" or rightist point of view; whether to uphold the four basic principles, or whether to practice bourgeois liberal contradictions. Until this fundamental problem is solved, it will be impossible to solve the problem of unity in the literature and arts world, impossible to nurture and train up a genuinely powerful revolutionary literature and arts corps, and impossible to do a genuinely good job in the party's literature and arts cause.

The advent of bourgeois liberalism in the literature and arts world was inevitable from a historical point of view. Every time there is a major historical turning point, political and ideological dissension appears within the revolutionary ranks. When the first great revolution failed, the leftist opportunism of Chen Duxiu and the

putschism of Qu Qiubai occurred. In contrast was Chairman Mao's correct line of building rural revolutionary bases, the countryside encircling the cities, and the use of armed revolution to counter armed counter-revolution. During the period of the civil war, a serious threat occurred from the "left" deviation line of Wang Ming and Bo Gu. After going through setbacks, failures, and the Long March, the Zunyi Conference established the leadership of Chairman Mao's correct line. During the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan, there were different opinions and views as well about the building of a national united front to resist Japan. The two watchwords of the Shanghai literature and arts world about the national revolutionary war, namely mass literature and national defense literature, were really a reflection of the different conceptions and attitudes toward the united front. Facts have shown Mr. Lu Xun to have been correct.

Today's dissension is by no means strange. After smashing the gang of four, we are again facing a major historical turning point, shifting from taking class struggle as the key link to the building of the four modernizations. Construction began following the founding of the People's Republic, but class struggle itself was used to give impetus to that construction, rather than the construction itself primarily influencing and spurring work in all regards. As a result, insufficient attention was given to cultural education, to science and technology, and to the intellectuals. Carrying out a major strategic shift requires not only exposing and criticizing the gang of four's destruction of socialism and distortion of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, but also requires taking stock of our own mistakes. For example, in taking class struggle as the key link, serious attention was not given to the intellectuals and to the mistakes Chairman Mao made during his declining years. It was in response to this need that the Central Committee in 1979 convened the conference on grasping principles and policies as well as theories and thinking. However, some comrades attending the conference completely repudiated the revolutionary struggle of the past, simplistically repudiated basic Marxist doctrines, and even doubted whether China could carry out socialism. Zhang Xianliang's theory about the restoration of capitalism had really been raised earlier in theoretical circles. However, some people's statements that the party newspaper should represent the "people" and not the party juxtaposed the people and the party.

Naturally, reasons for the appearance of bourgeois liberalism may also be found in the prevailing objective environment. The shift to the four modernizations necessitated opening to the outside world and invigoration of the domestic economy. The opening to the outside world brought in capital, technology, and beneficial managerial experience. Thus, capitalist ideology and culture was bound to take the opportunity to enter, extreme individualism was advocated, and decadent, obscene, and degenerate things also entered. Some

people could not differentiate, and did not try to differentiate, or they even supposed that everything foreign was good, generating a psychology of complete Westernization.

During party rectification, the Central Committee pointed out that some party members and cadres were unable to stand the test of historical setbacks, unable to stand the corrosion of bourgeois ideology, and doubted everything. This was the reason giving rise to bourgeois liberalism, and it was inevitable.

2. On some Situations Gone Through in the Course of This Struggle

(Omitted)

Need for a High Degree of Attention to and Good Performance in This Struggle

Some people winked at and protected bourgeois liberalism. After going on for such a long time, not only did it build into a trend of thought, but also into a force, which was also supported by Hong Kong, Macao, Taiwan, and foreign capitalist forces. Whenever any disturbance occurred in China, outsiders immediately echoed it. During the student demonstration for example, the Voice of America actively fanned the flames. We must be highly vigilant, and deal assiduously with such matters. If we are to persevere in reform and opening to the outside world, we will certainly have to uphold the four basic principles, and we will have to keep our wits about us. In intercourse with the outside world, we must know what we are doing.

The struggle against bourgeois liberalism is an important matter bearing on the destiny of the party and the country. The influence of bourgeois liberalism is great, and numerous people have yet to realize the importance and the perniciousness of this issue. In addition, for a long time those who practice Marxism have been subject to discrimination and attacks, and they have been unable to form a strong contingent. The difficulties we face in our work are not small. We Communists and we comrades who uphold Marxism-Leninism must shoulder this glorious task, fighting as we train. We must forge, nurture, and train up a powerful Marxist-Leninist theoretical corps. We must diligently study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, improve our own theoretical level, raise our spiritual horizons, and possess a lofty spirit, a vast breadth of vision, and an indomitable will. We should be fearless on behalf of the party, on behalf of the people, and on behalf of the country. Not only should we take part in the struggle, but we should unite more people for the struggle, training up and building a powerful Marxist-Leninist theoretical corps through struggle to win victory in the struggle.

(Based on the collation of notes, and not reviewed by the person concerned.)

Xiong Fu

90ON0460A Beijing WENYI LILUN YU PIPING
[THEORY AND CRITICISM OF LITERATURE
AND ARTS] in Chinese No 1, 24 Jan 90 pp 38-41

[Article: "Comrade Xiong Fu's (3574 1788) Speech
(Excerpts)"]

[Text] In his speech, Comrade Xiong Fu first reviewed the tortuous course followed in the struggle to uphold the four basic principles and oppose the bourgeois liberal trend of thought since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee. Continuing, he said that from the Central Committee to local jurisdictions, the macroclimate manifested in the laissez-faire attitude toward the unchecked spread of this mistaken trend of thought has now become history, and a new macroclimate of resolute, healthy, and sustained opposition to this mistaken trend of thought has appeared before our eyes. On our entire ideological front, which is made up primarily of Marxist forces on the two major front lines of theory and literature, everyone has been stimulated by and feels happy about the extremely great encouragement that this new atmosphere provides, and morale has risen a hundredfold. The anxiety, vexation, and even the feeling of self-reproach and remorse at being powerless so deeply felt as a result of the heavy suppression has been completely swept away. I believe that this new atmosphere has already demonstrated to us that the conditions have fully matured for Marxist forces on the two fronts of theory and literature to unite in carrying out a struggle against bourgeois liberalism, doing great deeds, demonstrating their ability and wisdom, and making a major contribution.

Of course, we know very clearly that, inasmuch as the struggle to oppose bourgeois liberalism will be enduring, the road ahead will be a very long one. However, if one says that a tortuous road has been followed during the past eight years, then neither will the road ahead be a joy ride, because this struggle is, in the final analysis, extremely complex and extraordinarily arduous. Take just the college student demonstrations in 28 provinces and municipalities at the end of 1989. Why did they demonstrate and what were they thinking and saying during the demonstrations? The content of their big character posters shows that they believed that all of China's cultural tradition is feudal rubbish, that China's socialism is feudalism in a different guise, that the leaders of the Communist Party are a continuation of feudal rule, and that Marxism became a feudal thing once it moved into China. They believe that capitalism is better than socialism and that the way out for China lies in the complete annihilation of all of China's traditional culture, refutation of the socialist system, removal of the party leaders, and the expulsion of Marxism from China in exchange "complete Westernization." They believe that the essential requirement for Westernization is the total introduction of Western culture, including democracy, freedom, human rights, the theory of human nature, humanitarianism, social Darwinism, and so

forth. They call for an awakening of self-consciousness and the practice of self-worth centered on self, building on this foundation a new value concept of individualism. In short, in their thoughts and speech, what they want is for China to institute dog-eat-dog capitalism. Can anyone believe that this way of thinking and speaking sprang up in their heads all by itself? Of course not. It was obtained from the two spiritual channels of theory and of literature and the arts. From this one can appreciate the grievous depth and breadth of the poison of bourgeois liberalism obtained by modern youth obtains from these two channels!

In a speech on 30 December 1989, Comrade Deng Xiaoping called for the whole party to take a clear stand in opposition to bourgeois liberalism. In a stern criticism he said, "The ideological front is weak and positions have been lost from the central government to local governments. A laissez-faire attitude exists about the practice of bourgeois liberalism; good people cannot find support, and bad people run wild. Good people do not dare speak out, as though they have lost good sense. They have not lost good sense." Indeed, on the question of fundamental principles such as upholding the four basic principles, and opposing bourgeois liberalism, Marxists have in no way lost their good sense. The problem is that in the former macroclimate, Marxists on the two fronts of theory and of literature and the arts were muzzled. As a result they were unable to organize, and they have not organized well. Most of them are in a situation of waging a desultory war. Even when they stand up to speak, they lack support and protection. An example was an article titled "On a Reexamination of Freedom," that HONGQI editorial board member Comrade Wu Jianguo [0709 1696 0948] wrote. First he presented a draft to ZHEXUE YANJIU [PHILOSOPHY RESEARCH], in an individual attempt to change the tenor of this publication, only to have this publication reject his article. However, despite our utmost efforts to preserve a bastion such as HONGQI, its predicament also became extremely distressing. So, we felt extremely ashamed about the field of literature and the arts. Although we upheld the stand of Comrade Deng Xiaoping at the fourth All-China Congress of Literature and Arts Workers in which he called for a complete literature and arts policy, basically we did not frontally assault bourgeois liberalism tendencies and their various manifestations in the literature and arts world. Instead, we resorted to what Lu Xun called flank warfare. We reviewed Western bourgeois trends of thought, but we said nothing about the dissemination and the effects of these trends of thought in China. In the realm of literature and arts theory too, we only did some fix-up work. For example, some newspapers carried articles expounding the need for long-range, consistent party policies toward literature and the arts, without saying a word about the four basic principles. Then we wrote an article saying that upholding the four basic principles was the foundation for a long-range and consistent party policy toward literature and the arts. On various literary and artistic creations, we also limited ourselves to

reviewing and encouraging only works with a rather healthy ideological content and a rather desirable artistic form, which is to say works having definite educational significance in fostering the new socialist man. However, about extremely unhealthy or even extremely damaging works, we did not say a word. For example, HONGQI originally said not a word about the work titled *One Half of a Man Is a Woman*, and at one CPPCC [Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference] meeting it received a tongue-lashing from the author who said that HONGQI's suppression of this novel was "extremely stupid." As for myself, I know very little about the world of literature and the arts. The very great progress that the cause of socialist literature and the arts has made since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee is a fact that cannot be ignored. However, it is like a nightmare in which I feel both panic-stricken and extremely desolate, because it is virtually impossible to hear any sounds of Marxism when I read, or hear, or come in contact with any of these things:

—Every time I see works that play up abstract human nature and supraclass humanitarianism, that tout "self-existence," "self-consciousness," "self-worth," and such extremely individualistic bourgeois value concepts, or that propagate existentialism, social Darwinism, Freudianism, and Nietzsche's "superman" philosophy, or even works written by women praising sexual freedom and sexual liberation.

—And every time that I come across fantastic plots filled with sex and all sorts of vulgar delights that seek to transcend time, space, and history, and that blend human and animal spirits into a whole to reflect in a distorted way the mysticism of modern life, or the modern stuff of all kinds and descriptions that fill our magazines and publications and that run contrary to reason and that extol the ugly as beautiful.

—And every time I read a literary review filled with overblown praise for one of the works I mentioned earlier, or laudatory words that seem like an abstruse book received from heaven that cannot be understood even after 100 readings because of the misuse of ne people.

—And when I read the reviews that particularly distort and belittle the history and tradition of the cultural movement that advanced under leadership of the party since the "May 4th Movement," that claim a cultural disjunction occurred following "May 4th." The reviews claim that was a period of ruin or cultural desert where only a few minor literary critics appeared, such as Xu Zhimo [1776 1807 2302], Zhu Xiang [2612 3276], and Shen Congwen [3088 1783 2429]

—And when I read a book that touts "subjective consciousness" or "self-consciousness" as the highest form of thinking in images, that advocates proceeding from the self-will of Nietzsche, and the intuition of Henri Bergson, requiring that only when reason is

subordinate to what one perceives directly through the senses can one be considered to have attained an esthetic concept that is the ultimate of beauty.

—And when I read books that randomly pick a point here and a point there from Western bourgeois modern aesthetic trends of thought, and philosophical trends of thoughts, using them to belittle Chinese civilization and build up Western civilization when, in fact, these writers are extremely lacking in the slightest knowledge of the history of the development of Chinese and Western civilizations. They nevertheless knock together a requirement that demands objective consciousness be subordinate to subjective consciousness, and that subjective consciousness is also an ego system rooted in self-consciousness. They claim that only the evolution of this ego system itself can be an inherent law of literary creation decked out in a so-called new theoretical system of literature and the arts.

—And, recently, when I heard about a school of poetry called "negativism" [feifeizhuyi 7236 7236 0031 5030], which published *An Introduction to Before Civilization* as a manifesto of "negativism" that turned out to be an espousal on a grand scale of irrationalism and mysticism that denied all rationality and denied all culture including language and writing, and called for a return to primitive nature preceding the stage of human civilization, harkening to intuitive and supernatural inspiration, and using undefined terms to express undefined self-perceptions received through the senses as being the only true beauty. This school of poetry is a freak suckled by different kinds of Western irrationalism and mysticism and that grew on the soil of socialist China.

Faced with these circumstances, I felt helpless, blamed and censured myself, and I am extremely ashamed of myself.

Here I must especially thank Comrade Chen Yong [7115 8673], who is more courageous, more resourceful, and more sagacious than I. During the macroclimate of 1989, he stood up in support of HONGQI and wrote an article for HONGQI criticizing the literary and artistic concepts of Comrade Liu Zaifu [0491 0375 1788]. No sooner was this article published than it received plaudits and support from numerous readers, but from the literature and arts world came an incessant condemnation of Comrade Chen Yong personally and of HONGQI. He was condemned from Beijing to the entire country, from the mainland to Hong Kong, and from China to foreign countries. Some people's condemnation said that this article published by HONGQI is redolent of two newspapers and one magazine of the Cultural Revolution period. Some people also relayed this condemnation electrically to Hong Kong where it was published in TA KUNG PAO. Naturally, neither Comrade Chen Yong nor HONGQI was intimidated by this condemnation. He himself made some remarks to Hong Kong reporters, and the HONGQI editorial board also wrote a letter to

the Hong Kong-Macao Work Committee and to TA KUNG PAO explaining the true facts. The Hong Kong-Macao Work Committee appointed TA KUNG PAO to make an investigation, and it published a report correcting the error. Before we published Chen Yong's article, we mailed a final proof to Comrade Liu Zaifu, and we wrote a letter in the name of the editorial board and sent a representative to relay our recommendations to him, inviting him to write an article of countercriticism. However, Comrade Liu Zaifu refused our suggestion time and time again. Instead, he and Comrade Liu Xinwu published unrelenting attacks through Hong Kong bourgeois newspapers and even in anticommunist periodicals in an effort to exert pressure on Comrade Chen Yong and HONGQI. Was it not a monstrous absurdity for today's Chinese literary world that a literary and arts theoretician and writer who is a member of the Communist Party would forge an alliance with Hong Kong bourgeois public opinion and anticommunist public opinion!

Here I also want especially to thank Comrade Yao Xueyin [1202 7185 0995], from the older generation of writers. He is an 80-year-old man who is still busy completing the fifth volume of *Li Zicheng*, but who has taken the time to write an article for HONGQI, which was a follow-up to Comrade Chen Yong's criticism of Comrade Liu Zaifu's literary and artistic point of view. Following publication of his first article in 1989, he recently wrote a second article of more than 20,000 words, which we are preparing to run serially in the eighth and ninth issues of 1990. We greatly respect and are extremely encouraged by Old Yao's concern for HONGQI, his support for HONGQI, and his use of this bastion that is HONGQI, for his great advocacy of an atmosphere for Marxist literature and arts theory, for his clear-cut standpoint, his boundless boldness of vision, and for the use of his abundant practical experience in writing and his erudite knowledge of the history of Chinese civilization to write articles filled with common sense, of striking literary merit, and possessed of persuasiveness that elucidate the basic concepts of Marxist theory about literature and the arts.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping said bourgeois liberalism is antagonistic or in opposition to or is a revision of our prevailing policies and system. I feel that the trend of this antagonism, opposition, or revision has been concealed rather well on the literature and arts front, and has been dressed up rather exquisitely, making it more deceptive and more bewitching. Consequently, the struggle against bourgeois liberalism will be more arduous and complex, and no easy matter. Comrade Deng Xiaoping also said that the reality is that the practice of liberalism is an effort to lead us to the capitalist road. Unless this trend of thought is stopped, further opening to the outside world is bound to bring in numerous filthy things, which together constitute an assault on our socialist four modernizations that cannot be ignored. I also feel that the assault of literature and arts circles from inside and outside the country in

combination is a phenomenon that can be even less ignored, because this assault is a negation of the national distinctiveness of Chinese civilization, a negation of the splendid cultural tradition of the Chinese people, a negation of the revolutionary cultural tradition of our party's leaders since the "May 4th Movement," and a negation of the cultural revolution, and that an issue of opposition to bourgeois liberalism exists in the entire course of the four modernizations. Thus, this is a long-range matter. Since it is a long-range matter, there are to be no campaigns, but only reliance on normal indoctrination to persuade. How is this party policy to be carried out in literature and arts circles? One way is, as Comrade Deng Xiaoping has repeatedly pointed out, for ideological, literature, and arts circles to put out more good products for the mind and resolutely halt the production, importation, and circulation of bad products. They should use criticism and self-criticism to conduct struggle against erroneous tendencies; they should encourage the study of basic Marxist theories; and our work should concentrate more on principles, be more systematic, more farsighted, and more creative. We feel that when literature and arts circles join with Marxist forces in the struggle to oppose bourgeois liberalism, they will certainly do things in accordance with this guidance from Comrade Deng Xiaoping. We are determined to raise high the banner of Marxism and of Mao Zedong Thought, responding with literature and arts commentaries and literature and arts theory to all challenges raised by the bourgeois liberal tide of thought in the field of literature and the arts, writing articles that employ reason to persuade, feeling to move, that are convincing, and that have theoretical depth. Only in this way can a fine result be obtained and the anticipated goal achieved, which is to win over and educate the majority of people, particularly the young generation. We sincerely hail the success of this seminar, and we earnestly hope that Marxist forces on the literature and arts front will shoulder the task of opposing bourgeois liberalism. Our three units will do all possible to provide position support!

Liu Baiyu

90ON0462A Beijing WENYI LILUN YU PIPING
[THEORY AND CRITICISM OF LITERATURE AND
ARTS] in Chinese No 1, 24 Jan 90 pp 41-44

[Article: "Comrade Liu Baiyu's (0491 4101 5038) Speech (Excerpts)"]

[Text] Today, I have come to see you comrades and to extend my greetings to you.

I endorse and support this article commissioning meeting.

More than seven very long years have passed since March 1979 when the CPC Central Committee put forward adherence to the four basic principles and the present unfolding of the fight against bourgeois liberalism. Whether this fight becomes a great debate, a great contest of strength, and a great tussle that upholds

Marxism or negates Marxism has a bearing on the future and the fate of the party and the country. This fight, led by Comrade Xiaoping himself, is to rescue the party and the socialist cause.

I have reflected on the events in this fight during the past more than seven years, which may be divided into five rounds.

The first round saw the beginning of the struggle to uphold the four principles, which centered on the fourth All-China Congress of Literature and Arts Workers. The report from this congress expressed different views about the need to uphold the four principles. We believed that, inasmuch as Comrade Xiaoping had raised this issue in March, the report should naturally include it, but some comrades persisted in not including it. I wrote a letter to the CPC Central Committee about this. It was not until 1981 during the CPC Central Committee Work Meeting that the Central Committee gathered together some comrades from a small sphere to hold a meeting in which we raised this issue again. Some comrades still hoped we would drop this idea and not raise it again. Thus, this fight about whether to uphold the four basic principles began during the last half of 1979. Following the smashing of the gang of four, in bringing order out of chaos, in discussions about criticism of the "dictatorship of the black line in literature and the arts," and in the criticism of the "whatever faction," everyone held a unanimous view, no differences appeared. However, after the four basic principles were proposed, just as the Central Committee document says, some comrades parted company with us.

The second round occurred during the criticism of *Bitter Love* [Ku Lian 5388 2043]. Comrade Xiaoping had proposed eight articles at that time, which became seven articles after going through the China Writers' Association [zuoxie 0155 0588] Secretariat. Article 8 was about criticizing *Bitter Love*. At that time, I was in charge of work in the General Political Department's Department of Culture. The methods used and the reasons given for criticizing *Bitter Love* were not sufficiently good. I had to take responsibility, but criticism of *Bitter Love* was correct. The criticism of *Bitter Love* raised a ruckus. WENYI BAO used readers' letters to support *Bitter Love*, and XIN GUANCHANG [NEW OBSERVER] published an article titled "Springtime Is So Dear To Me," to which the China Writers' Association awarded a prize. We had no quarrel about fine works being awarded prizes; however, at the awards meeting, one comrade in charge said, "The sound of wind and rain rose in the night causing many blossoms to fall" in reference to *Bitter Love*. Later on, Comrade Xiaoping intervened, and WENYI BAO also wrote articles.

The third round was a discussion of human nature, humanitarianism, and alienation. Alienation was the banner, or one might say the foundation, for bourgeois liberalism theories. Despite a speech from the Central Committee at the Second Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee and an article that Comrade

Qiao Mu wrote, this remained a complex issue. Comrade Xiaoping said that he felt that socialist alienation could only be an alienation from capitalism and feudalism.

The fourth round centered on the launching of the campaign of opposition to spiritual pollution. Comrade Xiaoping said that opposition to spiritual pollution amounted to opposition to bourgeois liberalism. I endorsed that. When a XINHUA Press correspondent interviewed me, I stated my views and I also stated the policy of no practice of "leftism." At that time, the armed forces used some "leftist" methods, which I pointed out in the General Political Department CPC Committee, and which were corrected at once. Some comrades were firmly opposed to the launching of a struggle against spiritual pollution. This stemmed from the same source as their opposition to proposing the four basic principles, and their opposition to raising bourgeois liberalism.

The Jingxi Guesthouse Conference was a very ordinary small conference within the party. It was held in preparation for the fifth All-China Congress of Literature and Arts Workers, and it also discussed opposition to spiritual pollution. I made a speech at the conference in which I earnestly and sincerely raised the issue of the unity of people in literature and the arts. I felt that the lack of unity among people in literature and the arts had developed to the point where there was no way in which they could work together. At that conference, accusations against some people were made to higher authority with the result that the Central Committee Propaganda Department was unable to lead the All-China Federation of Literature and Art Circles and the China Writers' Association. This was a situation that had never before occurred in our party. Consequently, Document 28 had to be reissued, reaffirming the Central Committee Propaganda Department's leadership over the All-China Federation of Literature and Art Circles and the China Writers' Association.

The fifth round was the fourth All-China Writers' Association Congress. This congress got off to a bad start. The fourth All-China Writers' Association Congress was to blame for the unchecked spread of the bourgeois liberalism trend of thought.

The CPC Committee's prompt handling and understanding of the seriousness of the campus upheaval at this time was entirely correct.

China is a large country with a billion population in which the ideology of various exploiting classes still holds influence. The situation is intricate and complex. Some of it is deep-rooted. In order for Marxism to win an ideological victory, it has to contend with all sorts of "leftist" and rightist trends of thought, so ideological relapses and turmoil are understandable. One correct doctrine must be a doctrine that combines Marxism with practice in the Chinese revolution and China's construction. Inevitably, this did not occur quietly. We must fully realize the long-term and arduous nature of this struggle.

We must resolutely and steadfastly carry on this struggle. We must both take a clear stand and maintain a strict understanding of policies. There are two worries today. One is the fear of going beyond bounds, and the other is the fear of a perfunctory performance. These are not without foundation. The party has drawn on historical experience, and this is the first time that the party has dealt with a major situation with the least disturbance internally or externally. Facts show that we must conduct a struggle on two fronts in order to achieve a Marxist victory. How to summarize the lessons of experience in this great debate and hold high the Marxist banner on the socialist literature and arts front, not permitting the bourgeois liberal trend of thought to spread freely and unchecked on this front poses new problems and tasks for us.

I have several incompletely formed ideas about this.

1. Building a distinctively Chinese socialist literature and art. I have two thoughts about this. One is the popular nature issue with regard to Chinese socialist literature and the arts; the other is the revolutionary nature issue with regard to Chinese socialist literature and the arts.

On the issue of the popular nature, Comrade Xiaoping said a great deal in his congratulatory speech at the fourth All-China Congress of Literature and Arts Workers. Our literature and arts are for the people, and the especially outstanding idea is that the people are the mother of workers in literature and the arts.

I want to emphasize the revolutionary nature of literature and the arts. There has been relatively little revolutionary literature during the past several years. Literature and the arts that are guided by Marxism must be revolutionary. There can be no ambiguity about this. However, judging from our publications, a confluence and a blending with Western bourgeois literature and arts have occurred. Of course, Western bourgeois literature and arts should be analyzed. They contain some progressive materials. However, in terms of ideology, capitalist ideology and proletarian ideology differ fundamentally. The cultural permeation and rivalry of bourgeois ideology are still rather intense. From both a domestic and a foreign standpoint, our literature and arts are truly in need of being made more revolutionary. Domestically, literature and the arts carry the heavy burden of building spiritual civilization and encouraging the people to invest themselves in the "four modernizations" to spur historical advance. Externally, it also enables the revolutionary people in all countries to understand the achievements of China's revolution, igniting new hope for them.

China's socialist literature has a long and glorious revolutionary tradition. This is a tradition that has to be developed and not ignored or denied. This year marks the 45th anniversary of Chairman Mao's "Talk" [at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art]. Some of the principles in the "Talk" should be developed, and some

of them should be readjusted, but in a fundamental sense, they must be upheld and carried forward even more. The bourgeois liberal trend of thought that has appeared in recent years fully demonstrates that departure from the fundamental principles of Mao Zedong Thought on literature and the arts can cause a departure from the orientation of socialist literature and art. A unified line must be followed in socialist literature. There should be all kinds of literature—one cannot practice a policy of closed doors—but the guiding orientation has to be revolutionary.

Our age has produced unprecedentedly great crowd of living of the peasants, and of Miao and Li nationality villages has risen greatly. Building is going on everywhere, and life is seething with excitement. We must publicize the heroes of the Laoshan Front, and also extol the heroes in building the four modernizations. A new life and new heroes encourage the struggle of the Chinese people, as well as give new hope to the people of the world.

However, I see that some periodicals and some literary works are drab and gloomy; they are not at all in keeping with the bright and revolutionary life. Certainly such gloomy literature cannot shoulder the task of reflecting the new life.

The revolution, reality, and life are all telling us that socialist literature must be revolutionary. Marxist theories and reviews of literature should encourage and spur creative work to reflect the great socialist age.

2. Tens of thousands of revolutionary Marxist authors must be created. We must have a writers' corps armed with Marxism. This is a basic task in changing the present pessimistic literature and negativity. Literature has flourished unprecedentedly since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee, with quite a few old, middle-aged, and young writers struggling actively. If one cannot see these things, it is impossible to see the basis for a changed situation. However, the problems that have emerged in literary and artistic creations are serious. For example, what kind of literature and art is *Show Whether Your Tongue Is Coated or Bare?* There are very many problems in literature, like self-centeredness, the tide of sex, etc., as well as commercialization. These phenomena are rooted in people, their standpoint, and their point of view. If writers are possessed of lofty sentiments, and have a firm Marxist standpoint and point of view, they can provide readers with a fine spiritual product. Conversely, they confirm people in their negative and decadent feelings. Thus, the world-view issue is a fundamental one.

Then, there is the issue of esthetic concepts. Is life the wellspring of creativity, or is self the wellspring of creativity? These are two metaphysically different esthetic views, one solipsistic, and the other idealistic. Nowadays a small group of people lack fervor about plunging into the hurly-burly of life, so they write drab stuff. Comrade Mao Zedong's statement is that life is the

wellspring of literature and the arts are the most complete theoretical exposition of Marxist esthetics.

In their creative methods, some young people try to be modish. For example, Garcia Marquez's magical realism is very fascinating. Garcia Marquez's *One Hundred Years of Solitude*, about the specific cultural consciousness of the Indians, contains mythology, mystical overtones, and romanticism. But if writing of this kind is applied uncritically to China to reflect our life, it will not work. It simply becomes a welter of gods and spirits. If one seeks novelty by writing about minority nationality areas of China, life there is distorted and debased. Some young comrades enjoy and imitate the tricks of the modern school, but I believe that it is a sorrow for literature when literature descends into the playing of tricks.

I favor the creative method that combines revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism. It is broader and freer. It combines the realistic approach and the pursuit of an ideological quality of the Chinese people. China's civilization is several thousand years old; we should find our own way and not blindly trail along behind others.

The status of authors should be improved, turning authors into lofty engineers of the human soul. The artistic cultivation issue is, first of all, a matter of cultivation of oneself as a person.

Finally, let us talk a bit about the matter of building a Marxist theoretical corps. During the past several months some meetings have been held to study numerous problems, and all of them have been for the purpose of assembling a Marxist theoretical corps, raising the Marxist banner, and setting up public opinion positions so that Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought about literature and art become the soul of socialist literature and art.

Comrade He Jingzhi [6320 2417 0037] once said that a Marxist theoretical corps would also have to recruit staunch Marxist authors, and I very much approve of that. The writing of theoretical articles by authors has been a common practice in ancient and modern times, and in both China and foreign countries. Naturally, the main force in such a corps is still theoretical workers who uphold Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought.

Today, some theories follow along behind some antiquated and decadent Western bourgeois theories. To write in language that is hard and difficult to read, to be obscure and recondite is really superficial and dangerous. Furthermore, forming small circles to brag and boast is an unhealthy tendency. Comrade Chen Yong [7115 8673] wrote a fine article which was much attacked. Now the time has come for Marxist theoretical workers to stand up and speak, and to carry forward the new style of study of Marxist theory.

(Collated from notes and not reviewed by the person concerned.)

Chen Yong

90ON0463A Beijing WENYI LILUN YU PIPING
[THEORY AND CRITICISM OF LITERATURE AND ARTS] in Chinese No 1, 24 Jan 90 pp 44-48

[Article: "Chen Yong's (7115 8673) Speech (Excerpts)"]

[Text] I will present several views.

First is the question of how to evaluate literature and the arts during the 10 years of the new period. I agree with Comrade Mo Han's [7817 3211] remark that a struggle truly exists in the literature and arts world between two ideologies and two lines. I feel that this is an important clue to understanding literature and the arts during the past 10-year new period. Shouldn't we summarize literature and the arts during the past 10 years? What summarization method should be used? What viewpoint and methods should be used in making the summary? Would it be preferable to use a Marxist viewpoint in making the summary, devoting firm attention to the fundamental conflicts existing in the world of literature and the arts between upholding the correct policies pursued since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee, or departing from correct policies; and between upholding the four basic principles, or practicing bourgeois liberalism? These conflicts are reflected in both literary and artistic works and in literary and artistic theories. Factionalism is also fairly serious in literary and artistic circles.

During the 10-year new period sharp contradictions have existed in the field of literary and artistic creation. On the one hand, achievements have been outstanding. Many fine works were produced, many of which could not have been produced or would have been very difficult to produce during the previous 17 years. Literary and artistic authenticity and literary and artistic realism developed in depth, surpassing the achievements of the previous historical period. Of importance was the period's production hand, serious and sharp problems truly exist. A great deal of what is advocated in the field of literature and the arts, as well as many works, contain seriously mistaken ideology and even incline toward bourgeois liberalism. Numerous pessimistic, decadent, irrational, and individualistic works have been produced, and they have been praised by critics. Such a situation is unprecedented. How can these extremely contradictory yet simultaneously coexisting phenomena be explained? These contradictions can be understood only in terms of a struggle between two ideologies and two paths. Some people are unwilling to say they contain bourgeois liberalism. As soon as you criticize works for reflecting bourgeois liberalism, they immediately say that they show very great literary and artistic merit, and isn't the flourishing of literature and the arts a rarity in history? This is how they oppose and resist criticism of bourgeois liberalism.

Thus, it is necessary to make clear just how today's achieve Session and the bringing of order out of chaos when we returned to a correct ideological line. They were

was also the result of the authors' subjective efforts, and it was not because of the practice of liberalism, nor because of winking at bourgeois liberalism. It was not for the reasons that some people think, that is, that today's literary and artistic achievements and the flourishing of literature and the arts stemmed from the practice of bourgeois liberalism.

Since the advent of the new period, a number of new authors and a large number of fine works have appeared. Achievements have been remarkable. However, I believe that it is the advances made in literary and artistic ideology that hold profound and far-reaching significance, meaning the destruction of past dogmatism in theories and stereotyping in creativity. The steadfast courage demonstrated in this regard has been unprecedented.

During the 10-year new period, literature and the arts dared to look squarely at and to portray clashes between contradictions in daily life. At the same time, there were numerous fine works whose ideological bent was healthy, and which everyone recognized. Examples included *Reaching Middle Age*, *The Horse Herder*, *Criminal Li Tongzhong's Story*, *Soil*, and *The Grateful Wolf*. Television plays were *The Snowy Wastes* and *Triumphant Midnight Return*. All these works dared to expose contradictions in daily life. They did not sidestep the contradictions of the new authors themselves, the tragedy in their lives, and their sadness. All these works served to demonstrate the identicalness of the ideals of socialism and communism. Nevertheless, new authors are still new authors, so no personality splits manifested in a duality of man and beast, beauty and ugliness, good and bad were conveyed. *Reaching Middle Age* portrays an ophthalmologist named Lu Wenting, who despite the sadness in his personal life, has a communist attitude toward work. *The Snowy Wastes* is also profound. Wu Qiuxiang, a formerly poverty-stricken peasant, becomes a 10,000 yuan household under the new economic policies. When portraying this kind of life, some works are prone to make it appear that once a peasant becomes a 10,000 yuan household, everything is fine and there are no conflicts at all. In *The Snowy Wastes*, however, once the problems in the peasant's economic life have been solved, there are other daily life and emotional needs, and it is because of these that Wu Qiuxiang is held down by the feudal thinking and the power of custom around her. She still bears the numerous sadnesses of a Chinese woman, which are expressed in socialist humanitarianism. Such a work was a rarity during the 17 years before the 10-year new period. Another example is *The Grateful Wolf*, which rather profoundly taps the various hardships and conflicts of life in the armed forces, and of basic-level cadres in the armed forces. Had this work been published even during the 17-year period before the 10-year new period, it would not have been considered a poisonous weed! (Of course, the author did write some other bad works.) I believe that *The Grateful Wolf* is good and healthy. Not only does it portray life's contradictions truthfully, but it is also appropriate. *Criminal Li*

Tongzhong's Story is an even more astonishing work. Writing such a work requires the genuine courage and the extraordinary boldness of a true artist. He courageously exposes the calamity that the "leftist" policies of the Great Leap Forward wrought on the people, while convincingly demonstrating at the same time that there is hope for our party and people. We do have quite a number of good cadres such as Li Tongzhong, who step forward bravely to serve the interests of the people at crucial times without regard for their personal safety. We can affirm that the production of such a work during the earlier 17 years would have been very difficult. Had it been published in that former abnormal political atmosphere, we can imagine what its fate, as well as the fate of its author, might have been.

Socialist literature and art must embody socialist and communist ideals, but at the same time it must depict life truthfully, and squarely face the clash of contradictions in daily life. Experiences in this regard should be summarized. We should use a Marxist outlook in summarizing them.

Some people say that the 10-year new period has been 10 years of a resurgence of humanitarianism and normal human feelings. Such a point of view is suspect. I do not want to completely deny humanitarianism; all I want to do is handle this issue correctly. Some comrades believe that socialist humanitarianism and Marxism are incompatible. I believe that we should endorse socialist humanitarianism. I approve of Comrade Hu Qiaomu's [5170 0829 2606] way of putting it: Humanitarianism is a kind of theoretical concept, and a kind of moral concept. At the same time, I believe that theoretical and moral concepts are a part of the world outlook. They are an aspect, an angle, and a level of understanding life, but they cannot substitute for the total world outlook. The use of socialist humanitarianism permits a more profound understanding of life from one aspect, but humanitarianism cannot substitute for the world outlook and the historical outlook. Humanitarianism cannot be used to summarize literature during the 10-year new period. *The Snowy Wastes* and *Triumphant Midnight Return* are new things in this regard. The love relationship among Jiang Man, Lin Dalin, and Tong Chuan that the television drama portrayed was undoubtedly a tragedy. In today's terms, Lin and Tong were "rivals in love," yet their ideological character was very lofty, and they were comrades-in-arms who depended on each other on the battlefield. This is a new humanitarian spirit that embodies socialist and communist theory and morality.

I believe that the past 10 years have seen solution to a very important problem that it was not possible to solve for a very long time, and that is the problem of the relationship of literature and the arts to politics, and the relationship of literature and the arts to daily life. In the past, political ideology was usually emphasized at the expense of daily life, or when daily life was emphasized, it was frequently at the expense of political ideology, one pitted against the other. The gang of four went to even

greater extremes in capsulizing this as "carrying out the main theme." [zhu ti xian xing 0031 7344 0341 5887].

The use of abstract humanitarianism in dealing with daily life occurs in literature and the arts. I read a novel titled *Ancient Boat*, which showed originality and which also broke with conventional dogmatism and stereotyping. Yet, one marked question was the humanitarianism question. In depicting the struggles during land reform, it characterized the excesses of the peasants in settling scores with the landlords and the brutality of landlords' restitution corps as being one and the same, dealing with them as equals. Certainly, party policies did not condone the peasants' excesses. However, one has to realize that the peasants suffered exploitation and oppression for several thousand years, so their excesses, once they freed themselves, are understandable. There was one scene in this work in which the buried corpse of a landlord's daughter was dug up and subjected to various indignations. This was clearly the action of the village's hoodlum proletariat, and should not have been included on the balance sheet of the majority of peasants. In some superficial respects, the excesses of the peasants were very much like those of the landlords' restitution corps, but they were different in nature and should not be lumped together. This work made us realize that the use of abstract humanitarianism cannot accurately depict and explain complex class struggle. We do not necessarily want to say that *Ancient Boat* propagandized liberalism, but it shows a marked tendency to use abstract bourgeois humanitarianism to deal with life. I believe that our own outlook should be used to survey the literature of the past 10 years in order to summarize the strengths and problems in this 10 years of literature through the seeking of truth in facts.

Theoretical problems likewise exist. The controversy from many comrades about Comrade Liu Zaifu [0491 0375 1788] is controversy having to do with two ideologies and two paths. Of course, Liu Zaifu's point of view should also be concretely analyzed. I believe there are three important situations to be analyzed: 1) Partially academic issues, such as a dual personality makeup, which is a matter of academic dispute. 2) Major theoretical principle issues, such as problems of a perceptive nature. On this question, there is a divergence between idealism and materialism. 3) The issue of political orientation and political principles, as for example, saying that from the 1930's until the present time our literary and artistic criticism has been largely debased class struggle theory and direct perception reaction theory. This amounts to a complete denial of the literature and arts movement that the party has led for 30 years. It is to say that from leftwing literature and art until the writing of Liu Zaifu's article, our party's leadership of literature and the arts has been wrong. Now that is an issue of political orientation and principles!

Liu Zaifu also suggested the use of humanitarianism as a "substitute for taking class struggle as the key link," and he used this idea in summarizing the position with regard to 10 years of literature. Recently Comrade Peng

Zhen said that "to take class struggle as the key link" is not wrong during any period. Now that ownership of the means of production has substantially completed socialist transformation, the class struggle is no longer the major contradiction, so, of course, it is wrong to suggest taking class struggle as the key link. Formerly, however, during the period of land reform and the war of liberation, it was indeed the class struggle that was the key link! For Liu Zaifu to discredit without qualification the taking of class struggle as the key link is actually a fundamental denial of class struggle and a denial of the Marxist view of history. He advocates the substitution of humanitarianism for "taking class struggle as the key link," but the nature of his humanitarianism is not evident in and of itself. Actually, not only does he depart from Marxist principles on theoretical grounds, but with regard to today's realities, in his view our past revolutionary literature and art, which reflected a life of class struggle, was wrong and intolerable. Of course, this is a divergence between political orientation and political principles, but this is the nub of his problem.

The second issue about which I want to speak is opposition to and criticism of bourgeois liberalism in literature and the arts. I want to relate this to the building of Marxist theories with regard to literature and the arts, linking together destruction and construction.

On the relationship between destruction and construction, various one-sided views also exist, such as saying that destruction is "leftist," and is going too far. Thus, understanding must be rectified. When mistaken ideas spread unchecked, one has to talk about no construction without destruction. Naturally, "no construction without destruction" cannot be used promiscuously either. However, when mistaken trends of thought run rampant, that is the time to talk about no construction without destruction. The dialectic relationship between destruction and construction has to be realized, and that construction springs from destruction. Marxism requires that advances be made as a result of the criticism of all sorts of mistaken ideas. Therefore, I maintain that Comrade Mao Zedong's remarks in *On New Democracy* about "no construction without destruction, no flow without damming, and no advance without halting" is correct. However, without construction, and without a body of our own ideas, it is very difficult to bring about effective destruction. Thus, the building of theories cannot be forgotten. Opposition to bourgeois liberalism requires that we present a body of correct ideas for comparison with the ideas of bourgeois imperialism, allowing the masses themselves to choose.

At the meeting, some comrades referred to Engels' *Anti-Duhring*. The book *Anti-Duhring* criticized Duhring matters, and also presented the Marxist viewpoint in a systematic way. Although we cannot match Engels, we are always able to learn from him. We can learn how he enriched and developed Marxism while criticizing mistaken ideas, and we can learn the spirit of how he linked the revolution's critical nature and scientific nature.

For a long time formerly, a proneness toward wavering back and forth existed in theoretical work, which we do not necessarily regard as a "prevailing" practice. This is because it was probably due more to lack of theoretical preparation, lack of grasp, and inability to differentiate and define when confronted with major changes. Therefore, I feel that we, including myself, should put more effort into basic theory. Numerous controversies about literature and the arts today are closely linked to basic theoretical questions.

There are two aspects to the direct relationship of basic Marxist principles to literature and the arts: 1) The principle of the relationship between the foundation and the superstructure. In this regard, the issue of the relationship between literature and the arts and politics is a prominent issue that has not been well addressed for a long time. Much research is required on this issue to elucidate the relationship of literature and the arts to politics and economics. Many problems may be readily solved by doing this. 2) The theory of reflection is also an issue that has been seriously challenged in recent years by mistaken notions, and about which a wide variety of views have been expressed and a large number of articles written.

These problems are very complex and involving a very wide range of matters, such as psychology and the study of the brain. Therefore, common philosophical reflection theory cannot be simplistically applied to reflection of reality by literature and the arts. I agree with a statement made by Comrade Qian Xuesen as follows: Thinking in terms of images is the starting point for the science of thought. Thinking in terms of images is more complex than logical thinking. Once thinking in terms of images is mastered, great advances can be made in the science of thought. Our literature and arts theoreticians find it very difficult to talk in depth about this problem from the standpoint of the natural sciences; a more feasible method is to study thinking in terms of images from the angle of literature and the arts, that is, to study authors' creative experiences, to study their creative processes, and to distill a pattern from them. As for the correlation between the subjective and the objective in literature and the arts, this is a problem that still cannot be solved only in terms of philosophical reflection. We must link these problems of literature and the arts with basic theories for study. That literature and the arts are to serve the people and serve society is a statement about which most people agree. This involves the nature and role of socialist literature and art. There are even more problems in this regard. Whether socialist literature and art should reflect the daily life of the people has become a question for some people. What is the relationship of socialist literature and art to human nature and humanitarianism. These questions may be linked for study to selected topics on which articles are selected that Comrade Zheng Bonong [6774 0130 6593] has spoken about. Those topics are very important.

Now I will talk about issues of study style and writing style.

This is a big problem. We ourselves have to continue efforts to solve this problem. Numerous people who practice Marxism also have to encourage each other on this problem. We have to demand high standards of ourselves. The style of study and the style of writing of people working on "new ideas" today is worst. They manufacture a system in a single evening, accepting uncritically foreign things that they themselves do not yet understand very well, which they then trot out to frighten us as though we were country bumpkins. We are much better than they. No matter how numerous our shortcomings, most of us are serious minded, have a sense of responsibility, strive to propagandize Marxism, and strive to serve socialism.

The style of study and the style of writing are truly in need of improvement. The so-called style of study problem is a problem of seeking truth in facts, and a problem of linking theories to realities. More specifically, it is what Mao Zedong said in the past about the need to study theory, to study history, and to study the current situation. None of these aspects can be ignored with regard to theory, the history of literature, the history of art, or when criticizing literature and the arts. Naturally, there can be a difference in emphasis.

One important method in studying the present situation and history is representative study. In studying capitalism, Marx focused on the study of England, because at that time England was the most representative capitalist country. We should study some representative authors and representative historical periods. If we do a good job of studying one or two authors and one or two historical periods, our theory will be enriched. Today, some of our comrades who study Marxist-Leninist literary theory rarely read or they are even uninterested in reading. Marx and Engels knew a very great deal about European literature and art. They understood numerous literary and artistic matters very clearly. They were thoroughly familiar with the several most important periods in the history of European literature and the arts, namely ancient Greece, the Renaissance, and the 18th and 19th centuries. The artistic thinking of these two men also strongly encompassed the historical experiences of these periods. If we understand very little about the literature and the art of these several periods, we will find it very difficult to gain a deep understanding of the thinking of Marx and Engels. We must use their own methods to study them.

We must deeply study representative authors and representative literary events. In this regard, some Soviet theoreticians deserve to be studied. They have made their own studies of authors and their writings are very thoughtful. We must change our past practice in studying Marx and Lenin of not going beyond the explanatory notes.

Comrade Mao Zedong always paid very great attention to writing style. The Chinese style and Chinese manner that he espoused was about China being Chinese, and it also included making the style of writing Chinese. There

is much work to be done in this regard. The works of Chairman Mao and of Lu Xun are a very important legacy. Lu Xun characterized Ssuma Qian [ancient China's most famous historian] in a few hundred words, and Chairman Mao characterized Lu Xun in a few hundred words. They wrote concisely yet comprehensively, in a highly succinct way. Both were adept at understanding their subject in entirety. Today some dissertations are wordy and trivial.

This article commission meeting has gotten off to a good start. No matter the great pressure to which we were subjected in the past, we deeply believe that Marxism will be accepted in the end. I want to do more work with all of you. I am in favor of organizing forces with all possible speed to consolidate and strengthen the Marxist literature and arts theory corps to ensure that our work proceeds smoothly. Our ranks will certainly expand steadily. Naturally, our work will be arduous, and the path we follow will be a tortuous one.

(Collated from notes and not reviewed by the person concerned.)

Ma Zhongyang

90ON0464A Beijing WENYI LILUN YU PIPING
[THEORY AND CRITICISM OF LITERATURE AND
ARTS] in Chinese No 1, 24 Jan 90 pp 48-53

[Article: "Comrade Ma Zhongyang's (7456 0112 2254) Speech (Excerpts)"]

[Text] At a time when bourgeois liberalism is running rampant, quite a few comrades have raised questions that deserve to be explored and studied. They pose a serious and sharp challenge to Marxist theory and force Marxists to give a needed scientific reply. This is an extraordinarily serious task. Faced with this serious task, we should take up our pens and link hands to meet this challenge.

Today I will take up only several issues having to do with bourgeois liberalism per se, present some material, make some analysis, and discuss some views. I invite comrades to augment or correct any points that I cover insufficiently or unsatisfactorily.

1. Liberty and Liberalism

Some comrades ask why a fine term like liberty is associated with the bourgeoisie. It is as though liberty is a preserve of the bourgeoisie.

I think that this is no place for a discussion of liberty and the inevitable philosophical questions. This is really a major epistemological problem requiring special exposition that, because of time constraints, cannot be completely clarified here.

In its original sense, liberty was a slogan that the bourgeoisie used during its ascendant in demanding survival and development from feudal rulers. It is an outgrowth of history that should be historically analyzed.

Liberty, equality, and fraternity served as a standard that mobilized and armed the entire bourgeoisie. It played an extremely important historical role in advancing the disintegration and collapse of the feudal system. Our party Central Committee sets great store by this point. We should clearly realize that it was the development of productivity that was of greatest importance in the development of the bourgeoisie. Productivity provided society with material wealth that feudal society could not match. Only because liberty was suited to economic development was it able to play a role in spurring the disintegration and collapse of the feudal system. It was because the bourgeoisie created unprecedented material wealth and a splendid civilization for human society that it was a progressive class as far as the feudal class was concerned, and bourgeois society was also a more progressive society than feudal society.

What is the liberty or freedom that the bourgeoisie wants? Basically, it is freedom of private ownership, it is freedom to exploit, it is freedom to hire labor, and it is the freedom to trade that accompanies the development of commerce. It also wants freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of publication, freedom of assembly, and so forth, but these are not fundamental freedoms. They are derivative freedoms subordinate to the basic freedoms. Whenever these freedoms get in the way of basic freedoms, they are restricted or abolished, and the situation becomes very unfree. Whenever they go beyond prescribed limits, dictatorial tactics are unceremoniously employed, including bloody suppression. Here, no leniency, tolerance, or generosity is to be found.

When the free bourgeoisie developed into the monopoly bourgeoisie, that is to say, when it developed to the state of imperialism, its freedom became freedom to commit aggression, freedom to seize raw materials and markets, and on to become the freedom of colonialists. During the more than 100 years from the beginning of the Opium War in 1840 until the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the Chinese people personally experienced what bourgeois freedom is, and the bloody realities of life under the banner of freedom.

What is liberalism? It is closely related to freedom or liberty, but liberalism and liberty are two different concepts.

Monopoly bourgeoisie spokesmen and their theorists maintain that they bring a "glorious world," and they use this banner to become world hegemonists. They go from free thinking, free systems, free policies, free society, and a free country to a free world, and finally liberalism.

It is not that the term liberty is the preserve of the bourgeoisie; history just evolved that way. Our proletariat and socialism also emphasize freedom, but it differs from the freedom of the bourgeoisie. Proletarian and socialist freedom has its own meaning and mission, and should not be confused with the freedom of the

bourgeoisie. Nor is liberalism a part of the proletariat or socialism, because they do not have to "liberalize" their class and social system.

2. Origins of Bourgeois Liberalism

Wang Ruowang [3769 5387 2598] said that he is the ancestor of bourgeois liberalism. This is unabashed bragging; I don't think he meets the requirements. Not only is he not the "ancestor," but no Chinese is the "ancestor." First, no "ancestor" can just declare himself to be one, and second, this "ancestor" is by no means illustrious. A Chinese cannot and should not be such an "ancestor."

What is liberalism all about?

Following World War II, a number of socialist countries appeared in the world in addition to the USSR. Hostile to them and fearing that the socialist countries would become a threat to them, international monopoly bourgeois governments and their spokesmen felt that mere reliance on armed intervention and subversion was not sufficient. They felt that they had to resort simultaneously to the method of "peaceful evolution" and carry out subversion against socialist countries to enable "forces for freedom" inside socialist countries to rise up and change the socialist system into the free systems and free countries that they hoped for, meaning a bourgeois system and capitalist countries. To simplify slightly, liberalism was a major policy that the U.S. Government carried out for the peaceful evolution of socialist countries. The United States never changed this policy.

I intend to use only various abstracts of pertinent U.S. materials about China to explain this liberal policy.

First, on 5 August 1949, on the eve of the founding of the People's Republic of China, the U.S. State Department published a white paper titled, *Relations Between the United States and China*. U.S. Secretary of State Dean Acheson wrote a letter to President Harry Truman in which he said the following: "China's ancient civilization and democratic individualism will triumph in the end. China will overthrow the alien system. I believe we should encourage, both now and in the future, every development that can promote the above objective." The "alien system" of which Acheson spoke was the socialist system under Marxist leadership that China was about to establish.

China's criticism of the "white paper" at that time unmasked the U.S. peaceful disintegration plot, and provided an education to the broad masses, particularly "democratic individualists," whose consciousness was very greatly heightened.

Second, during the 1950's, numerous commentaries were published under auspices of U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles that pinned U.S. hopes for "peaceful evolution" on liberal forces inside socialist countries. Dulles said, "The Chinese people do not like communism either." "We do not believe that despotism represents China... U.S. policy is predicated on the premise

that a free government will win victory in the end, and that the despotic government will finally go bankrupt." He also said, "Going on the defensive is not enough. Freedom must become an active force that is able to penetrate inside." He longed in vain for the "final collapse" of the socialist system.

Although Dulles devoted his energy to formulating U.S. policy, he never did see the "bankruptcy" and the "collapse" of the socialist system in China!

Third, during the 1960's, U.S. monopoly bourgeoisie continued to promote this policy. No sooner did John F. Kennedy take office as President of the United States in January 1961 than he said explicitly in his first State of the Union speech that, "The American eagle on the president's seal holds an olive branch in its left talons, and arrows in its right talons. We intend to give both the same attention." He also said: "We must act immediately to formulate plans step by step and carefully in order to nurture the seeds of freedom in any crack that appears in the Iron Curtain." This was his so-called "peaceful strategy" for subversion of the socialist system. He hoped that "countries and the people under Communist Party rule" would go for their "freedom." He said: "We are hoping for the day when they will be able to live with us in the great family of free people."

On 13 December 1963, Shearsman, Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, delivered a speech titled "U.S. Policy Toward Communist China," in which he said that the United States "is determined to open the door to changes that may occur," and he preached the need for a "policy of remaining strong and resolute, while also being ready to negotiate to 'spur a change in Mainland China.'" He imagined that China's "second generation of leaders" might "once again accept a diversified world to replace what appears to be communism's goals for human society." This was the policy for promoting "peaceful evolution."

Fourth, the 1970's was the decade in which major changes occurred in Sino-U.S. relations. With the visit to China of President Richard M. Nixon and the issuance of the Shanghai joint communique in 1972, and particularly the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the United States in 1979, relations between the two countries entered a new stage.

Fifth, following the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and China, although the Taiwan problem remained an obstacle in relations between the two countries, relations were smooth overall during the 1980's. In the fields of economics, science and technology, and culture, some exchanges and development occurred. At the same time, we must realize that the U.S. monopoly bourgeoisie never abandoned its established policy of opposition to the socialist system. On the so-called "human rights" issue, some people attacked the socialist system for a long period of time. For example, in 1982 Columbia University political science professor Nashar [Nai shan 1143 1472] said in

testimony before a U.S. Congressional committee that "if we do not speak out on behalf of the legal right of the Chinese to express themselves, or if we do not criticize the Chinese Communist Government's oppression, Sino-U.S. relations may become forfeit." An article published in the U.S. WORLD NEWS even said that "Following the death of Mao Zedong, the People's Republic of China will remain a dictatorial Marxist country. It will completely control the people's thoughts and actions... frequently paying a very high price in terms of human rights."

On 8 June 1982, in a programmatic speech delivered to the British Parliament, U.S. President Ronald Reagan call for "free democratic institutions" to take Marxism-Leninism and "throw it on the garbage heap of history." Actions should be taken to help "democratic movements" in "totalitarian" countries. He also said that "in realizing this goal, the West positively cannot hesitate." This speech became, in fact, an action program for the U.S. State Department and its intelligence agency.

At a conference on the "democratization of Communist countries" that the U.S. State Department convened on 18 October 1983, Secretary of State George Schultz made a speech in which he said that support for democracy is the foundation of "our history and our world view." "Recent events in some Communist-ruled countries shows that we are facing a new era of democratic changes and revolution. The weakness of Communist societies is becoming increasingly evident. The longing of the people for freedom remains very strong." "One important factor in the democratization of Communist countries must be internal forces." We "do not ignore people and organizations in Communist countries seeking to carry out peaceful revolution. Satisfaction of their requests for assistance is our moral and strategic duty. We must help them in their struggle to gain freedom." The United States spent \$1 billion as the first installment on broadcasting stations to broadcast this kind of news. To "advocates of peace" from Communist countries, Schultz also said, "You are messengers of hope," and "harbingers of a new era." We are determined to help you "to translate your dreams of freedom into reality." It should be noted that the U.S. State Department's conference on the "democratization of Communist countries," and the Chinese Communist Party's Second Plenary Session of the 12th Party Central Committee occurred during the same month within just a few days of each other. In a striking contrast, one supported "liberalization" and the other opposed "liberalization." Subsequently, we became more relaxed; they never changed.

On 20 March 1984, an American, Ms. London, who studies the problems of Chinese society and intellectuals issued a statement as follows: "The elimination of spiritual pollution is an inevitable outgrowth of the trampling of human feelings, and the emphasis on class character of 30 years of totalitarian rule." The U.S. authorities regarded China's policy of opening to the outside world as a "superb opportunity for the receipt of

Western ideology and Western values." The inflammatory and provocative broadcasts of the Voice of America, and its odious role when a small number of students demonstrated in various cities of China at the end of 1986 was really a case of adding fuel to a fire by acting from the outside in coordination with forces on the inside, which reached frenzied proportions. This was extremely conspicuous in Western news dispatches, and it was also extremely clear against whom it was directed. They nearly forgot the "peaceful" image that they clothed themselves in.

The above represents 38 years of historical facts. From the standpoint of the U.S. monopoly bourgeoisie, opposition to Communist Party leaders, to the socialist system, to the dictatorship of the proletariat, and to Marxism are only natural. They never changed either before or after the establishment of diplomatic relations with us, nor did they ever equivocate. One can see clearly from these negative data whether the right of discovery of liberalism can be claimed by Wang Ruowang. Talking big cannot increase one's own social status; instead it shows up the copier, and demonstrates the backwardness of those duped. This warns us Marxists of the kind of education work we must do in order to wake up the young people whom Wang Ruowang has duped.

3. Effects on China of Humanism

Taken together, the expressions of bourgeois liberalism amount to a denial of the socialist system and advocacy of the capitalist system. Thus, they concentrate attacks on the four principles that form the basis for the founding and running of China, particularly the leadership of the Communist Party and the socialist system. What they extol is the superiority of the capitalist system. They take an extremely clear-cut stand on what they are for and what they are against.

On the theoretical plane, their position is not as undisguised or as direct as their political stance; it is more contorted and somewhat more complex. Clarifying the differences requires some effort, but, generally speaking, it is capitalist theory. It promotes the theory that capitalism is forever enduring. It is antithetical to Marxist theory. Therefore, the statements of those who preach liberalism show that the point they make most is that Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought are out of date, not suited to China's national circumstances, and should be abandoned. Naturally, the big character posters that appear during student demonstrations are even more revealing, and their slanderous attacks more vicious.

The theoretical plane that I am talking about here is fairly abstruse and is in the realm of world outlook; thus, it is called an erroneous trend of thought. These erroneous trends of thoughts were not discovered by Chinese. They were transmitted by Chinese and have had a very great influence. Among students, they have become "hot spot" erroneous Western trends of thought.

HONGQI magazine criticized these trends of thought. Its criticism was in terms of Western philosophical trends of thought; it was not in terms of the bourgeois liberalism trend of thought. It was criticism in terms of running counter to and in opposition to the Marxist trend of thought. Since these trends of thought assault our Marxist public opinion positions, they are inseparable from the bourgeois liberalism trends of thought, and HONGQI is duty-bound to criticize them.

I am now going to give a brief introduction to philosophical concepts.

Individualism is one of two main schools of Western philosophy. Its branches may be divided into existentialism, Freudianism, and "Western Marxism." A common feature of these schools is that they proceed from abstract man, explaining social and historical matters in terms of so-called natural instincts, biological instincts, and animal instincts, and they treat man as a "subject" that can surmount all social and historical conditions, as well as objective social and historical laws, and that can "create" history according to his own desires. Thus, their explanation of questions such as human instincts and human nature, and the value of man are bound to be in opposition to historical materialism, and become mired in historical idealism.

The fundamental characteristic of Jean Paul Sartre's existentialist view of history is to regard man's existence, and the existence of individual psychological observation and learning from real experience, as the point of departure for all existence, and that all natural and social existence gains significance from such individual existence. Existentialism pits the individual against society, maintaining that there can be no true individual existence in society, and that individual existence not only does not depend on society, but rather requires a separation from society. Such a view is completely erroneous. Marxism's view that human nature is the sum total of social relationships is the only correct one. Sartre totally rejects historical inevitability, and he regards an individual's absolute freedom as his nature. He maintains that only when an individual realizes his own nature can he do as he pleases. Sartre's self-choice, self-design, and self-achievement theories are founded on this absolutely free theory. This free outlook is also a theory of extreme individualism. He maintains that maintenance of individual freedom necessitates excluding the freedom of others, and that "Only when opposing others can an individual be absolutely free." These existentialist views have an extremely bad corrosive role on China's youth. They are the so-called "Sartre craze."

Freudianism's "pansexualism" also has a certain influence on China's youths. It maintains that human sexual behavior is the principal motivating force in human actions, and it even makes sexual behavior a basic element in the historical development of society. It also maintains that an inevitable conflict exists between man and society, and that the source of the inevitability of such a clash lies in human instincts (including sexual

instincts), and the antisocial nature of desires. He maintains that human social progress comes about through the suppression of human instincts and desires; therefore, society is always a curse in life and for man.

Historical materialism is based on the reality of the historical development of society. It maintains that the material conditions of social life are an important basis for deciding human behavior. Man's instincts and sexual behavior, including sexual conflicts, are only a biological phenomenon in mankind. Though they have a certain influence on human behavior, to exaggerate this influence and turn it into a thing that decides human behavior leads inevitably to becoming mired in the mud hole of historical idealism.

The earliest ancestor of "Western Marxism" was Lukacs Gyorgy, who rejected the explanation of history in economic terms. He took Hegel's idealistic formulation of "substance being the main body" as a basis for expounding the historical mission of the proletariat. He said man as a "substance—main body," is the basis and the creator of social history, and that people in former societies did not recognize this. Consequently, they were unable to emancipate themselves. The proletariat was able to attain this self-realization, so it is able to emancipate itself. Discussing historical development by beginning with mankind's realization is, of course, historical idealism.

The biggest school of "Western Marxism" is the Frankfurt school, which maintains that the appearance of "the main body as a determinant, and historical destiny are, in the final analysis, conferred by people." "A person's free nature lies in the selection of historical practice that goes beyond the possibilities of established practice." In discussing man's emancipation, they also resort to Freudian sexual emancipation theory, maintaining that once sexually emancipated, it is not necessary to effect social control over individuals through systems or inherent methods. Life can then be more rational and people become independent social subjects and become emancipated.

Surprisingly, this preposterous theory attracted some "enthusiasts" who poisoned China's youth with it.

There are additional Western schools, which I will not discuss in detail here. The ones mentioned above already circulate in China through the medium of theoretical circles, and literary and artistic circles, and some literary and artistic works have been patterned on the foregoing ideas. Their damage and influence can be imagined.

Why is it that these schools, bearing different trademarks and sailing under different colors, launch assaults on historical materialism? This is truly a major question of principle in human thought. How should the historical development of society be regarded? Does social awareness determine the existence of society, or does the existence of society determine social awareness? Do heroes create history, or do the masses create history; does the historical development of society develop as it

will without laws, or does it advance according to objective laws? Historical idealism and historical materialism are completely at loggerheads on these questions. Engels capsulized one of the two great discoveries of Marx during his whole life as being historical materialism (and the other one was the theory of surplus value). Lenin maintained that discovery of the materialist view of history was the "greatest achievement of scientific thought." (*Selected Works of Lenin*, Volume 2, p. 443.) This shows the important position of the materialist view of history in Marxism. Therefore, those who deny or depart from Marxism must deny or depart from the materialist view of history.

Marxism has done battle for more than 140 years, and its course of development has never been smooth. It has gone through numerous twists and turns, and numerous tribulations, and it has victoriously come through repeated obstacles. What is facing us are simply more twists and turns and obstacles. I believe that, armed with Marxism and with the wholehearted cooperative efforts of all, this conference will be a training of troops brimming with confidence, that difficulties will certainly be overcome, and that comrades will be able to make individual contributions in the struggle.

Yao Xueyin

90ON0465A Beijing WENYI LILUN YU PIPING
[THEORY AND CRITICISM OF LITERATURE AND
ARTS] in Chinese No 1, 24 Jan 90 pp 53-56

[Article: "Comrade Yao Xueyin's (1202 7185 0995) Speech (Excerpts)"]

[Text] Let me say, first of all, that I do not do theoretical work. I have written several articles during the past several years, but that was because I had to. I was forced to go to the front. In recent years, I have mostly been writing *Li Zicheng* and editing a collection of writings. I have also done some historical research. But, in the final analysis, I am a Chinese writer, and I have a Chinese writer's tradition—getting involved. During the past several years, popular literature has received a boost. A lot of people have become fans, and the strange thing is that people engaged in theory are also fans. People say that the literary tradition of the "May 4th Movement" is gone and popular literature has taken the place of the "May 4th" road, so I ventured to write an article. But I have been a laggard about criticizing the newly risen schools of literature and the arts. When Comrade Chen Yong's [7115 8673] article came out, I was living in the mountains. After I had my secretary go to the county seat to get HONGQI and WENXUE PINGLUN [LITERARY REVIEW] for me to read, I very much approved of Chen Yong's article. I felt articles like it had been rare in recent years. Later, I also read discussions of the article and articles of counter criticism, and I heard that Chen Yong was under attack. My sense of right and wrong got the better of me. I had to speak. Some people urged me not to write an article. Why trade a quiet life for an unquiet life? I said I was not afraid. I have been on

the front line of literature and the arts since the 1930's. I have been battered; I have gone through great changes, and there is nothing to be afraid of. I am not a feudal official wearing a black gauze cap, so I am not afraid of being dismissed from office. Still, the pressures were very great at that time. After I wrote that long article, I was prepared to wash my hands and do no more. Later on, when I saw Liu Zaifu's [0491 0375 1788] big dissertation denying the classical literature tradition and denying the guiding role of Marxism since the "May 4th Movement," my anger rose again, and I wrote a 30,000-word article that I wanted published in HONGQI. I was forced into the front lines by a novelist's sense of historical responsibility, and a socialist writer's sense of responsibility. I felt that in the nearly 70 years since the "May 4th" new literature movement there has not been a literary controversy as complex and as profound as the one today. The former battle lines were distinct; today they are not distinct. Most of the former controversy was carried on within the front; outside interference was not as strong as it is today. In the 1930's, for example, even though there were internal contradictions and fights, the "muzzles of the guns" were pointed outward, all of them against the Kuomintang. This was also true in the 1940's. The New Moon Faction was the New Moon Faction; the three kinds of people were the three kinds of people; and the Kuomintang was the Kuomintang. The front lines were clearly demarcated. Today they are not. Ordinarily, members of the Communist Party support Marxism, but actually some Communist Party members, including some occupying positions of leadership, train the "muzzles of their guns" on Marxism, going all out in opposition to Mao Zedong Thought and opposing the revolutionary tradition in literature headed by Lu Xun. This is unheard of. How can people not feel distressed! Today's struggle and the practice of non-Marxism and anti-Marxism have both an internal social basis and international support. No such situation existed formerly. No one ever heard of the New Moon Faction or the three kinds of people having support. Today, however, a link has appeared between the inside and the outside, and articles in Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan publications exert pressures inside China. Some people fear that "the foreigners have spoken." We are an imposing socialist power, so why bother about foreigners' scowls! I met some correspondents from Hong Kong and Macao yesterday with whom I talked about one country and two systems. I said that we cannot force the mainland's system on Hong Kong, but neither can Hong Kong interfere on the mainland. If you force your views on us, we will criticize you. The road of foreign countries is not necessarily desirable. China's social and historical conditions determine the road of China's literature. Colonial culture cannot be moved into China. China has had prose since the Jin dynasty, and poetry was well established in the Western Zhou dynasty. China's literary tradition has never been broken. What need is there to trail along behind foreigners? I never imagined that the literary road could be as tortuous and complex as it is today. This requires that we rise up and struggle to protect Marxism and to protect the road of socialist

literature. We cannot shirk historical responsibility; instead we have to stiffen our backbone till it is like steel, and make vigorous efforts to turn the tide. As an ideological system, bourgeois liberalism is an enemy of Marxism. We must be alert to the presence of the enemy; otherwise where will the party end up?

The struggle today is complex, but I believe we should realize the following two things: First, fundamentally speaking, the situation is good. What makes me think so? After several years of setbacks, the CPC Central Committee is extremely watchful about this struggle. Now the situation has fundamentally turned around. Naturally, there are still numerous problems. Some old friends say it is "too warm." I say that when sickness comes it is like a mountain falling, and when sickness goes, it is like reeling silk off a cocoon; one must proceed slowly. One must get everyone's attention first, then you can go a little faster. Second, in April I went to Hubei where I met very many people. The reaction I heard was that those who were not involved in theory but were involved in the creation of literature and the arts were dissatisfied with literary and artistic circles. They felt that murky poetry and some novels were divorced from reality, and they wanted to know why nothing was done. Another thing was that the rising new trend appeared and disintegrated. "Many unrighteous acts lead inevitably to self-destruction." To do things against the will of the people is bound to result in one's destruction. Second, quite a few Marxist theoreticians are college professors, but they have been unwilling to speak in recent years. Nor has there been anywhere that they could publish articles they wrote. If the Central Committee takes a clear-cut stand, raises one arm and calls out, the people will obey the Central Committee. Our intellectuals have had party indoctrination, and some old intellectuals have been very deeply influenced by Marxism. This force cannot be ignored. However, those who advocate the so-called "new literature" are so deficient in knowledge that it is frightening. Nevertheless, they have picked up some worthless stuff from the West, but they are totally ignorant of Chinese literature. They use a contrary bent to stir up trouble.

What problems have there been in literature and the arts for the past several years? I mentioned several of them in a speech to the CPPCC [Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference]. I affirmed the flourishing of literature and the arts since the Third Plenary Session, but some people refuse to see any other aspects of the situation. The Writers Association is under leadership of the Central Committee, but some people in it do not take the road of literature and the arts that Marxist points to. We cannot look only at the thriving side. In reality, there is a dark side, a negative side, and even unhealthy trends and evil practices. Everywhere there is talk about a "brotherhood." A young person who writes several short stories becomes a famous author, then he becomes an association member, and then a delegate, receives a prize, and then leaves for abroad. Once, I asked Guan Hua [4619 2901] if he had been abroad. He said he had

gone twice. I asked him where he went. He said, "The first time I went to Korea to resist the United States and aid Korea; another time I went to Vietnam to resist America and aid Vietnam." But some of our young authors go abroad this year, and then go abroad next year again. They do not have much understanding of history, literature, and theory, so what do they talk about when they go?

Now I would like to talk about several bad things in literature and the arts. Broadly speaking, this is about many people departing from Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought, and departing from the literary path they should take for the building of socialism. In addition, they have abandoned the revolutionary tradition following "May 4th." These two aspects cannot be separated.

During the past several years a craze about "popular literature" has occurred, mostly for romantic literature. There are popular literature periodicals in every province. The party has never slighted popular literature. Chairman Mao's "Talk" [at the Yanan Forum on Literature and the Arts], which discussed the correlation between popularizing and improving, fully affirmed the importance of popularization. How to improve is another problem. The problem is the departure from the socialist path in recent years, using vulgarity and low taste to pander to readers in order to make money. Most such literature is about sex, murder, violence, superstition, and the bizarre, which corrode the soul of the masses. Colonial culture and the dregs of traditional culture have been blended together. Meanwhile, the newly risen theoreticians have not come forward to criticize them. One can see from this that bourgeois liberalism is in collusion with imperialist culture and feudal culture. The situation following "May 4th" was also like this. Feudal culture and imperialist comprador culture could not beat back revolutionary culture, so they could only enter into collusion. The craze for popular literature is the first trend of thought in opposition to socialist literature. It is worth noting that most of the editors of these publications are party members, and some of them have been in the party for a long time. The problem lies precisely in the person of these party members.

The second trend of thought is that the newly risen new writers and theoreticians ignore the leading role of Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought in building socialist spiritual civilization, or else they obscure or openly deny Lu Xun, and deny China's revolutionary tradition in literature. All they want is complete Westernization. They are utterly ignorant of China's literary tradition. They have chosen some trash from Western literature to humbug the Chinese. It is purposely difficult to understand, and they themselves do not understand it either. Furthermore, I am opposed to the emphasis on the "generation gap." People's thinking cannot be divided up according to age. What "generation gap" is there between us and Marx? There is no "generation gap" between the basic truths of "Talks" and ourselves. So

long as we all study Marxism, the revolutionary tradition in literature, and Chinese history, there can be no "generation gap." The undue emphasis on the "generation gap" in recent years is actually a means of covering up ideological divergence.

The newly risen theoreticians and writers want only personal creative freedom, they do not want creative freedom on the socialist road. Following the fourth All-China Congress of Literature and Arts Workers, the Hong Kong literature and arts world was extremely enthusiastic and extremely happy. But, if there is only persistent emphasis on creative freedom, what difference is there from capitalism? I believe this to be a mistaken formulation. For a long time, we stressed deep involvement in life and reflecting reality. Later on, when some problems developed about literature and the arts serving politics, this was changed to literature and the arts serving the people and serving socialism. This is very correct, and one might say a kind of self-perfection. Nevertheless, people talk a lot about transcending reality, transcending history, transcending society, and transcending self. This is impossible, because we do not live in a vacuum. They also advocate the watering down of themes and widening the distance from reality. However, real life is the life line of literature. Chairman Mao said that life is the only wellspring of creativity. Not only is this true for realistic literary subject matter, but it is also true for historical subject matter. They also fail to encourage revolutionary heroism and patriotism. In today's world, however, limited warfare is difficult to avoid. I endorse *Triumphant Midnight Return*. They do not advocate writing about a healthy view of life; instead they advocate writing about feelings of loneliness, feelings of loss, and declining individualism. I am not saying that realism is the only creative method. However, when one wants to reflect life in a profound way, realism is the best method. It should serve as a basis, and this basis should not be lost. New theoreticians have no creative experience, so they suppose that realism is antiquated, and they always think of using other methods instead. They also repudiate typecasting, regarding it as environmental determinism. But, without describing the environment, how can one describe the character of the good characters?

A serious situation has appeared in literary works of denying revolutionary literary tradition and experience since "May 4th." Revolutionary literature has scored very great advances since "May 4th," and even more since liberation. Naturally, we have made mistakes, such as willfulness replacing objective laws, which was really practicing idealism. Since we were the ones who rejected Marxism, we will have to rectify this by ourselves. However, this certainly is not to say that one can reject the revolutionary literary tradition since "May 4th." However, in recent years some phenomena have occurred that should not occur.

The first phenomenon is that quite a few works nakedly portray sex life and sexuality. Some people predict that 1987 will be "sexual literature year," and some authors

say that 1987 is "my year." Some publications cater to them. The CPC Central Committee put a stop to this practice in opposing bourgeois liberalism. So, should writers feel dejected about this? If they really feel dejected, then let them! What good is writing that does not follow a correct path? Writers would do better to study calmly and take part in life. No one wrote about sexuality before liberation, much less did they write nakedly about sex life and sexual behavior. This is a tradition of the past several years. Even the New Moon School, the Three Kinds of People, and the Mandarin Duck and Butterfly School did not write about such things. Now, in the 1980's, much is written, and especially written about them. At the end of the 1920's and the beginning of the 1930's, Zhang Ziping [1728 6327 1627] wrote about triangular love affairs, but he did not revealingly write about sexuality and sex life. At that time, a doctor of Freudian psychology, Zhang Jingsheng [1728 4552 3932], wrote a book titled *Sex History*, which the Kuomintang very quickly banned. Some people say to me that writers who write sexual literature today are "Zhang Zipings and Zhang Jingsheng." Why has such a situation come about? One reason is that the quality of writers has declined greatly. During the years of the white terror, leftwing writers tried to study Marxism and study progressive literary theory in order to understand reality, to gain a grasp of what lay ahead, and to do a good job of writing. Today, however, some writers not only do not study ideology, but as soon as it is mentioned they react against it. Leftwing writers braved the dangers of arrest, imprisonment, and being shot to death to write. They did this in order to take part in the revolution, using their own works to educate and infect readers. They fully deserve to be called engineers of the human soul. But of what use is the sex literature of today in educating the people? These writers disgrace the fine name of the engineers of the human soul. It is publishing houses under party leadership and editors who are Communist Party members who publish such works. Isn't that just the limit?

The second phenomenon is the introduction of works of the bizarre school as a result of the lack of attention to portraying real life. The Sichuan drama *Golden Lotus Pan* is a representative example. After this drama was publicly performed, many people praised it, considering it an "exposure" of old tricks. In my view, it is both devoid of ideas and lacks artistry. Even the minimum requirement for internal coherence has not been met. It is talky; it is what is called a "noisy stage" in Hunan. That literature and the arts have sunk this far! If writing about real life is to be encouraged, an inexhaustible supply of material is available in a country as large as China. When such works appear, why does no one criticize them? Why can't people in charge at the central level see them? Do they have to be told three times? Ideology always develops out of struggle. Unless you fight, bourgeois ideology will capture your masses.

The third phenomenon is the serious departure from, or one might say betrayal of, the masses, with authors

receiving a socialist sinecure but writing poetry that people cannot understand or even novels that people cannot understand. This is really forever perplexing. China has a long history of novel writing, novels have been written in the vernacular ever since the folk literature written during the Sung and Yuan dynasties. During the Yuan and the Ming, both *Journey to the West* and *Jin Pingmei* were written, and during the late Ming large numbers of short novels written in the vernacular appeared, many of them wonderful and immortal masterpieces. The *Dream of the Red Chamber*, written during the Qing dynasty, reached the height of world literature. This trend demonstrates that novels originate with the people, and that one should return to the people. In addition, the vernacular literature developed since the Song and the Yuan dynasties also set the stage for the new revolution in literature of the "May 4th" Movement. The opposition to vernacular literature of Lin Huinan and the "Xueheng School" was defeated. Nevertheless, China was a semifeudal and semicolonial country after all, so the new language of literature was not only troubled by feudal ideology, but troubled by semicolonial ideology as well. The trend toward the Europeanization of the language of literature was very serious following "May 4th," and it was divorced from the masses. This Europeanized writing was termed the new classical Chinese [because of its incomprehensibility to the general public]. In 1933, the party led a discussion of the mass language question. Lu Xun and Qu Qiubai took part in this activity to very great effect. Following the Yanan rectification movement, large numbers of writers journeyed to the liberated area where they came in contact with the masses. Literary style changed greatly. Zhao Shuli made a special contribution. But by the 1980's not only did the masses not understand some of our works, even high-level intellectuals did not understand them. These writers turned themselves into a spiritual nobility, betraying the masses, and betraying the revolutionary literary tradition. We must purify and improve the language of the motherland, and what is not purified we should purify through our writing. But some of our writing is devoid even of punctuation; it is not broken up into sentences. If this goes on, it will become the unworthy descendant of the motherland's language.

We should recognize these dark and negative aspects, but at the same time we should be willing to act as firm rocks in midstream, making vigorous efforts to turn the tide. What is to be done from now on? First of all, those who practice Marxism should be organized to form a force for the gradual expansion of the corps. There are no small number of such comrades everywhere. Some of them are apprehensive. They are angry, yet they dare not speak out. Organizing can clear away their apprehensions. Additionally, I hope that the central authorities will take other actions. A theoretical struggle is one such thing, and if reorganization is needed, let there be reorganization. Today, some people are still waiting for change; they do not recognize that they themselves made mistakes. The Communist Party should occupy the ramparts

and implement the party's correct policy toward literature and the arts. In addition, I also have a hope for this corps, namely the need for further study. We have been influenced by dogmatism. We should sinicize Marxist theory now. It is a big shortcoming for those who practice Marxist theory today not to be familiar with the history of Chinese literature. I recommend the writing of a stirring and simple Marxist literary outline related to China's history and literary history, while also factually providing an introduction to Western schools. Our Marxist theory toward literature and the arts is in need of sinification. It also has to be popularized, given mass appeal, and the profound explained in simple terms in order to win over the young and those in the middle.

That is all I have to say today.

(Collated from notes and not examined by the person concerned.)

Meng Weizai

90ON0466A Beijing WENYI LILUN YU PIPING
[THEORY AND CRITICISM OF LITERATURE AND
ARTS] in Chinese No 1, 24 Jan 90 pp 57-59

[Article: "Comrade Meng Weizai's (1322 0251 0762)
Speech (Excerpts)"]

[Text] I will talk about four issues:

1. My understanding about the launching of the current struggle to uphold the four basic principles and to oppose bourgeois liberalism;
2. The correlation between the bourgeois liberal trend of thought and other mistaken trends of thought;
3. Building of a Marxist literature and arts theoretical corps and of a literature and arts creation corps that truly serve the people and serve socialism;
4. A report about the publication in RENMIN WENXUE [PEOPLE'S LITERATURE], issues 1 and 2 of 1987 of a novel titled *Show Your Tongue Coating or Nothingness* that insulted and vilified our Tibetan compatriots, as well as about mistakes committed by the publication's editorial department.

Now I will talk about the first issue. I believed that literature and arts issues cannot be discussed in isolation. To talk about them in isolation is to talk unclearly about them, and not to get to the root of matters. Only against the overall social and political background can literature and the arts be seen clearly and spoken about clearly. Our party and country are carrying out a great reform. China is now undergoing a great historical transformation in which we face numerous new problems and new issues. It is inevitable and understandable that in the process of this profound historical transformation, people will have to think about numerous new issues. Thus, it is also inevitable and unavoidable that there will be various social trends of thought and ideas, as well as points of view that give rise to differences,

conflicts, and controversies. Inside and outside the party there are knowledgeable people who predict that sooner or later a major dispute will occur in China. Comrades who adhere to the correct Marxist standpoint and outlook have long confronted a series of challenges, the most concentrated and highest form of these challenges being bourgeois liberalism. Conversely, those who advocate bourgeois liberalism have also confronted Marxism as an obstacle that they have never been able to hurdle. A struggle is unavoidable. Practice during the eight years since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee shows that such disputes and polemics have never ceased and have finally appeared in the the present great debate and extremely profound struggle. An old writer said the following: There is no escape from this struggle. Possibly these words are not entirely accurate, but they make people reflect deeply. This is to say that during more than eight years of history and practice, the attitudes and the words and deeds of everyone have been manifested very clearly, and that one extraordinarily sharp question requiring a reply and a choice and that will not brook evasion finally faces the whole party and the people of the whole country extremely clearly. That question is: What is to be done about things in China? Is there to be leadership by the Communist Party; is the socialist road to be taken; is Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought to be upheld; is there to be a people's democratic dictatorship? Is there to be a true building of a distinctively Chinese brand of socialism, or are the four basic principles to be knocked down and complete Westernization undertaken? The substance and the target of the slogans, statements, and theories raised in the student unrest in 28 cities last autumn was whether there is to be adherence to the four basic principles. The outlook and the position of those who fan student unrest is to have China take the capitalist road, or what is called complete Westernization. It is to have the Communist Party relinquish power to the so-called practice of a multiparty system, changing socialism, driving Marxism off the stage of history. Marxism can be compared to a big mountain. If one intends to topple this mountain, the country's present political regime will have to be overthrown too. Given these circumstances, our party, our government, and our people, and particularly party cadres and party members, will have to choose and make a reply as to what they approve of and what they oppose. When the old writer said there is no retreat, that means that after eight years the outlook of both sides is very clear. Everyone knows that a choice must be made between "yes" and "no" on the questions. Either we uphold the four basic principles and build a distinctively Chinese brand of socialism, or we abandon the four basic principles and take the capitalist road and undertake complete Westernization. Another writer asked, serious is the bourgeois liberal trend of thought in China? It is so serious that the party's secretary general had to resign. These words make one reflect deeply. As Comrade Xiaoping said, party general secretary Comrade Hu Yaobang talked only about one point and no other. He did not talk about the four basic principles and this was a fundamental weakness. This was where his mistake lay.

(gist) Therefore, this struggle is first of all a struggle over political orientation, a struggle over political principles, and a political struggle. The CPC Central Committee has said that this struggle has a bearing on the future and the fate of the party and the country. As a result of study, I realize that it is just such a question in fact. One can imagine what this country and this society will become if the four principles are abandoned. It will become, as Xiaoping said, a chaotic society and a disintegrated society. The stable political situation will be lost and great disturbances will occur. There will be anarchy in which no one cares about anyone else, there will be no order, no organization, and no discipline. The weak will become the prey of the strong; there will be a struggle to survive; and people will rampage without restraint. That would be our party's egregious error, and that would be a violation of the people's long-term interests and fundamental rights, making long-range, consistent building of the economy impossible. Naturally, the party and the people cannot permit this. However, if we really listen to those who advocate complete Westernization, such a tragic and fearful prospect is by no means unimaginable. Nowadays I often recall a statement of Comrade Mao Zedong as follows: It is impossible to depend on you, because to depend on you is to forget the party and to forget the country. One can only rely on the interests of the people and adhere to the four principles. This is the only basis for founding the party and building the country.

Some people say that this struggle is a power struggle. This is completely vulgar and mistaken. At the least, it is a shallow and a confused idea. The realities of the past eight years show that this struggle has not been decided by any person, but rather that it is a requirement and a reflection of real life and objective laws that truly bears on the fate of the party and the country, and on the fundamental interests of 1 billion people. If one is determined to say that it is a power struggle, then this power must be struggled for. To do otherwise is to be irresponsible to the party and the people, and to be irresponsible to Chinese history and reality, and to China's future. This is not a struggle for personal advantage; it is a political struggle over principles.

The second issue is the correlation between the bourgeois liberal trend of thought and other erroneous trends of thought. This is a real issue encountered in the course of work that numerous comrades think about. It is a cognitive issue, and it is a policy issue.

Bourgeois liberalism is a serious political concept having serious political significance, the connotations of which are very clear. The party has made the judgment that bourgeois liberalism objectively exists, and there is no need to deny this fact.

I have the following several inchoate views about the correlation between the bourgeois liberal trend of thought and other erroneous trends of thought.

I believe that the bourgeois liberal trend of thought may be divided generally into the following three levels:

At the first level there truly is an extremely small number of comrades who clearly, consciously, and systematically propose the complete Westernization of China, taking the capitalist road, and opposing the four basic principles. Their view is in the nature of a political program. These people are extremely small in number.

At the second level there are a fairly large number of people whose views are not that systematic, that conscious, or that clear. Some of them are doubtful about, do not believe, or waver in support for the party and socialism on this or that issue, etc. Naturally, because of their substantial numbers, the number of issues affected are also substantial, so they form a trend of thought.

At the third level are those influenced by the bourgeois liberal trend of thought. They cover a greater area, so their numbers are also larger. For comrades at this level, it is not just a cognitive issue, and a substantial number have a muddled perception as a result of their lack of knowledge. This muddled perception includes some mixed up thoughts and ideas and specious views. In short, they do not sort out most problems clearly.

They become transformed, turn into a tide, and have a widespread effect. They flow around and converge, inundating every place and becoming a scourge. In view of these circumstances, taking class struggle as the key link or launching a political campaign will not work. The struggle is strictly limited within the party and to the fields of ideology, theory, and culture, primarily to solve questions of political orientation and political principles.

The correlation between the bourgeois liberal trend of thought and other erroneous trends of thought requires diligent study. What do other erroneous trends of thought mean? My view is that, in addition to apparent bourgeois liberal political concepts, there are other Western trends of thought that are idealistic and individualistic in nature. A point that should be made clear here is that we do not completely deny the grains of truth in some writings and doctrines of Western scholars, but we cannot accept them as a body. What bourgeois liberalism advocates has been congealed in and abstracted from the bourgeois liberal trend of thought and other erroneous trends of thought. Other erroneous trends of thought are the bourgeois liberal outlook and the direct and indirect conditions and environment advocated, or what is termed atmosphere, which is the permissive social atmosphere of the bourgeois liberal trend of thought. If the bourgeois liberal trend of thought did not have this permissive social atmosphere, it could not have spread unchecked so seriously for several years, nor would the bourgeois liberal programmatic outlook have been put forth so clearly. Of course, conversely, those who openly preach and incite bourgeois liberalism abet, through their words and actions, the further unchecked spread of the bourgeois liberal trend and other erroneous trends of thought. For most comrades,

both the bourgeois liberal trend of thought and other erroneous trends of thought pose problems in cognition, and they should be handled as problems in cognition. Consequently, a very serious problem is conducting and how to conduct positive education. Comrade Xiaoping said that the struggle against bourgeois liberalism will have to go on for 50 to 70 years. My own perception is that throughout the entire historical process of building a distinctively Chinese socialism, it will be necessary to provide education to oppose bourgeois liberalism and to uphold the four basic principles. This was also two basic points in the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee (upholding the four basic principles and reform and opening to the outside world). Otherwise, socialist modernization cannot be successfully carried out.

The third issue. First I will say a word about the issue of there being no bourgeois liberal trend of thought in the literature and arts world. I believe that there is. It exists not only in words, but also in deeds. At the fourth All-China Congress of Literature and Arts Workers, there were both words and deeds. I believe that that there are eight matters in the theoretical point of view and the creative trend of the literature and arts world as a result of the unchecked spread and the influence of the bourgeois liberal trend of thought and other erroneous trends of thought:

1. The problem of the bourgeois point of view and creative trend that denies the four basic principles.
2. The problem of alienation and abstract humanitarianism.
3. The problem of the theory of human nature.
4. The main body consciousness problem of "self," and "ego expression."
5. The problem of the theoretical point of view and the creative bent regarding sex, sexual awareness, and pansexualism.
6. The problem of the "search for roots" in literature.
7. The problem of exposing and eulogizing.
8. More study of unintelligible works should also be done.

We cannot simplistically and arbitrarily lay all of the foregoing trends and problems at the doorstep of bourgeois liberalism, nor can we arbitrarily and simplistically deny that there is no correlation between them and the bourgeois liberal trend of thought. These are real problems generated in literary and artistic theory and creativity by the bourgeois liberal trend of thought and other erroneous trends of thought that should not and cannot be evaded. As for the building of a Marxist literary and arts theoretical corps and the building of a literary and arts corps that serve the people and socialism, I believe that problems about standpoint and world outlook must be solved. This is the only way to

uphold a correct orientation in literature and the arts, which cannot otherwise be implemented.

Finally, Comrade Meng Weizai reported on the situation in which RENMIN WENXUE [PEOPLE'S LITERATURE], issues 1 and 2 of 1987, published a novel titled *Show Your Tongue Coating or Nothingness* that insulted and vilified our Tibetan compatriots, as well as the mistakes committed by the principal persons in charge of that publication.

Views From Local Cadres

90ON0467A Beijing WENYI LILUN YU PIPING
[THEORY AND CRITICISM OF LITERATURE AND ARTS] in Chinese No 1, 24 Jan 90 pp 60-68

[Article: "Speeches by Min Yi (2404 6230), Wu Yuanmai (0702 0337 6701), Shi Mang (0670 5462), Zhou Liangpei (0719 5328 3099), Liu Bo (2692 2672), Yang Zhengrun (2799 2973 3387), Liang Shengming (2733 0524 2494), Cheng Daixi (4453 0108 3556), Li Xifan (2621 1585 0416), Ye Shuifu (0673 3055 1133), Bao Chang (7637 2490), Ding Zhenhai (0002 2182 3189), Liu Jin (0491 6855), Fan Yang (2753 2799), Lin Hanbiao (2651 3211 5903), Liu Shaotang (0491 4801 2768), Yang Bing (2799 2671)"]

[Text] Min Yi [2404 6230]: I will present a few concise views.

1. I personally believe with regard to literary theory that in recent years liberalism has been strongly manifested in a complete denial of the basic principles of Marxism. One might say that this denial has reached a degree unprecedented during the past several decades. Anti-Marxism has become a hero held in high esteem by public opinion, and supporters of Marxism have been subjected to all manner of hardships and pushed aside. From denial of specific issues (such as the materialism reflection theory, the mission and social function of literature, and historical materialism principles for evaluating literary works) to complete denial (Marxism is out of date, Marxism is just one view among many, reliance on Marxism while theorizing about literature inevitably means being fooled, and even suggesting that Marxist theoreticians "surrender," and sweeping Marxist studies out of the ideological realm, etc.), the denial of Marxism has meant a denial of the socialist orientation of literature and of party leadership over literature and the arts. This has been conducted under the signboard of "developing" Marxism. Marxism must be developed, but it can be developed only from a steadfast foundation. Instead, those who practice liberalism carry out a complete denial of Marxist principles under the signboard of developing Marxism.

Furthermore, the complete denial of the basic principles of Marxism is for the purpose of complete Westernization, replacing it with the the new humanist philosophical outlook and world view of the West. The view that gained currency for a time in recent years that literature is just literature, that opposed all "interference" by

"nonliterary" outside causes, and that man is only an end and absolutely not a means, and so forth, was a strong manifestation of this trend of thought. The so-called opposition to interference by "nonliterary" outside causes meant opposition to party leadership, to the mission and the orientation of socialist literature, and to the use of the principles of historical materialism in placing demands on and evaluating literary matters. To say that man is only an end is self-centered and egotistical, and to use this argument to oppose collectivism is, I feel, the root of very many problems in literature and creative works.

In order to realize this goal, some people call loudly for reform and opening to the outside world as a matter of policy, and reject the four basic principles. Anyone who suggests adherence to the four basic principles while reforming and opening to the outside world will be forever nailed to the cross of shame as the so-called "conservative faction."

Marxists must unite against these serious challenges, using a scientific spirit and attitude in carrying out resolute struggle.

2. The issue of collaboration from within with forces from the outside is yet another manifestation of bourgeois liberalism whereby writers frequently use bourgeois publications (including many often designated as reactionary publications by the central authorities) in Hong Kong, Macao, and abroad to both boost their own stock and, simultaneously, to bring pressure to bear on Marxists, on the party, and on the party's plans and policies. For example, some people ordered the compilation of a subjective collection of discussions. They gathered together numerous articles that beautified themselves and viciously attacked leaders of the party Central Committee, which they used for provocation and to sow discord. Not only did the persons boosted feel no remorse or shame, but rather they expressed heartfelt gratitude to these publications. Such things cannot help but arouse our serious attention.

3. Because of the influence of bourgeois liberalism, in recent years a tide of people has pursued fame and gain by hook or by crook, and scholarship is worse than ever. Numerous substantive errors contained in some books and articles have been categorized by publications as the new leading school of thought because they were sold as the "new" stuff from the West. As an example, a work that "talked volubly about humanitarianism being most immoral and about esthetic spirit being most odious," and that contained a rather large number of substantive errors received great praise in the newspapers. In one book, scores of errors were found in 20 pages, yet it was praised. Meanwhile, frequently, those who pursue scholarship diligently and conscientiously are never heard, or as the saying goes, they "spend half their life working by a window in a cold room with no one inquiring about them, while a lot of nonsense is hailed."

4. On the issue of doing more to build a Marxist theoretical corps. For many years the following situation has endured: The issue of doing more to build a theoretical corps comes to mind only when Marx's death is commemorated or his birth celebrated, when, as is done for weddings and funerals and the elimination of pollution, newspapers publish articles or editorials making appeals. However, as soon as the event passes, the idea sinks out of sight and nothing more is heard of it. During this time of unprecedentedly serious challenge, it is hoped that this call will not become just empty talk once again, but that genuine efforts will be made to put it into practice for strengthened development of a Marxist theoretical corps for literature and the arts.

5. It is necessary to oppose bourgeois liberalism unswervingly, and also to maintain vigilance against any manifestations of "leftism." Now is an important time for the refurbishing of the image of Marxist theory, so any manifestations of "leftism" may impair Marxism's reputation. Therefore, critical articles should pay particular attention to quality. It might be preferable to write fewer articles, but they must take a clear-cut stand and be convincing. Marxists must also study more to improve their own combat capabilities.

Wu Yuanmai [0702 0337 6701]: The Central Committee's call for resolute, healthy, and protracted struggle against bourgeois liberalism is entirely correct and necessary. Influenced by bourgeois liberalism, some erroneous tendencies have existed in the realm of literary and artistic theory and criticism in recent years. I personally feel that the anti-ideological or non-ideological trend in literature and the arts is one such tendency. It is generally realized that awareness is the existence of consciousness and nothing else. The superstructure is always determined by the foundation; literature and the arts are a form of this awareness. Put it more clearly, it is an ideology that has a specific goal, a specific makeup, specific form, and specific function. This is the fundamental principle of historical materialism, and it is also the watershed that divides Marxist literature and the arts from non-Marxist literature and the arts, or bourgeois literature and the arts. However, some articles do not look at it this way. They either suppose that literature and the arts are nothing, or that they are self-awareness, or self-expression, or self-worth, or else they suppose that literature and the arts should dilute reality, turn their back on reality, and return to their own inherent laws. This inevitably leads to a pluralism (not diversification) of literary and artistic ideas and literary and artistic methods, which is bound to lead to a denial of the correlation between literature and the arts and reality, as well as to the obliteration of the social role of literature and the arts. Thus, in my view, the so-called need to carry out a "thorough remolding" of literary and artistic theory and criticism is part and parcel of the non-ideological trend in literature and the arts.

Shi Mang [0670 5462]: As a result of hearing the speeches of Comrades Xiong Fu [3574 1788] and He Jingzhi [6320 2417 0037] about the origins, present

state, and methods of the struggle against bourgeois liberalism, my thinking is greatly clarified and I am greatly cheered.

The chaos, retrogression, and decadence reflected in literary and artistic theory and creativity during the past several years is truly like a nightmare. Just take a small example from my location. For a time, *Living Buddha Jigong* was all the rage in Hangzhou. Consideration was given to using it in a television series; *Biography of Jigong* sold well; and "sacred relics of Jigong" were refurbished, setting off a religious craze. Early on the morning of the lunar new year, tens of thousands of people went to Lingyin Temple to "burn incense," and even small children loudly sang "My shoes are worn out; my hat is worn out..." fouling the atmosphere. In recent years, a question has existed about the direction literature and the arts are taking in China.

We must act in accordance with the policies and plans of the Central Committee; we positively cannot go in for "leftism." However, by no means can we act in a perfunctory manner or give up halfway; otherwise, one can imagine the consequences. The first step of the problem now is to clarify whether there is bourgeois liberalism in the world of literature and the arts, where it is manifested, and how serious it is. Unless we solve this problem, the struggle in opposition to bourgeois liberalism in the literature and arts realm will be very difficult to conduct.

What is needed is an across-the-board, planned tackling of the matter in a comprehensive way. The erroneous theories that have appeared in the field of literature and the arts in recent years (such as the theory of encompassing idealism as the main body of literature, the external complete Westernization theory, and the complete denial of tradition theory), and erroneous works (including novels, plays, television, and poems) must be carefully and scientifically analyzed, principal ones being selected for thorough and persuasive criticism. At the same time, consideration must be given to the public opinion front and writer corps problems.

Mao Zedong's and Lu Xun's views of literature and the arts should be vigorously and correctly propagandized, and reeducation should be conducted, particularly the reeducation of youth.

Zhou Liangpei [0719 5328 3099]: Comrade Xiong Fu said that we must guard against using "leftism" to oppose rightism, and that we have to pay attention to a "contrary mentality" among the masses; however, we must also pay attention to exaggeration of the so-called "contrary mentality" and so forth as a means of countering opposition to liberalism. I have given considerable thought to this point.

Formerly, when I read Vladimir Vladimirovich Mayakovsky's *Left March*, I felt that this left had to be courageously scaled all one's life in order to reach the heights, and that it was the way toward purification of

the spirit. However, nowadays, some people have distorted its original meaning to make it indistinguishable from "leftism," failing to differentiate "leftism" in quotation marks from left without quotation marks. This is not because they cannot make a distinction, but because they like to cause trouble. During the cleaning up of spiritual pollution in 1983, Comrade Yan Jiayan [0917 1367 3508] heard a rumor that Comrade Ding Ling [0002 3781] had attempted suicide and efforts were being made to save her. When he saw that Comrade Ding Ling was in good health and concerned about pollution, he was dumbfounded. He told her that "leftism," and the rumor about "committing suicide to escape punishment" were too ridiculous. She had a good laugh too. Thus, on 6 November in her recorded speech carried by the Central Broadcasting Station, she both affirmed the need to eradicate pollution and said that anyone engaging in ultraleftism at this time was also sabotaging the eradication of spiritual pollution! Comrade Ding Ling opposed both the right and "leftism!" Surprisingly, 28 days later, another rumor said that she was an "eradicator of pollution." In a period of 28 days, she was characterized in two different ways, not because people could not distinguish "leftism" from right, but because this suited their purposes. At that time, I accompanied Comrade Ke Yan [2688 1484] to Chongqing to take part in the "Chongqing Poetry Conference." In Chongqing, some people from XINGXING [SPARK] "remorsefully criticized themselves" at the conference, saying that their publication had published bad things, and that they were "guilty." Comrades at the meeting were surprised and wondered why they did this. Unexpectedly, 28 days later, these same people turned around and said that everyone at the meeting had persecuted them. Suddenly, they became "heroes," trampling on others, and there was no end to incidents of fabricating rumors and vilification. They usually demonstrated "aloofness" from discussions of politics, which was their way of blasting politics. Talk about "indulgence"—they showed not the slightest "indulgence" toward others. Talk about problems in literature and the arts—the problems just cannot be straightened out by using literature and the arts. In recent years, we have encountered many matters of this kind, and we could go on and on. Never mind a tendency, it is a "flow." Never mind "ideological remolding"; only "newer ideas" will do. Some upright comrades cannot accept this.

During several conferences in Yunnan, I frequently heard people say that literary and arts circles in this province were upholding the four basic principles and had done some fine work. I can understand why they said this. They did not want to say that this area had problems for fear of negating their fine work. Actually, facing problems squarely is not at all a negation of fine work. Unless one faces problems squarely, doing a good job in this ideological struggle will be absolutely impossible. It will be impossible to act. A distinction must be made between right and wrong.

Liu Bo [2692 2672]: WENYI YANJIU [LITERATURE AND ARTS RESEARCH] was founded following the

Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. Comrade He Jingzhi helped me draw up the founding plan, and the magazine played a positive role during the period of bringing order out of chaos. Those of us running the magazine were highly enthusiastic. In recent years, however, the publication has become more and more difficult to run, and our enthusiasm for running it has waned. Now I have found the reason why. It is because of the unchecked spread of bourgeois liberalism.

To tell the truth, before coming to this meeting, I was somewhat confused as to how to apply opposition to bourgeois liberalism to literature and arts research work and to our editorial work. Upon hearing the reports from Comrades Xiong Fu and He Jingzhi, I was really shocked, and I felt at the same time that our burdens and responsibilities are heavier. I began to feel that we should do work in two regards as follows:

1. Since some of the basic principles of Marxism have been thrown into disarray in recent years as a result of bourgeois liberalism, which has placed Marxism under a cloud, supplementary lessons are needed to bring order out of chaos on the literature and arts front, and to bring order out of chaos in Marxism, which has been distorted, revised, and misunderstood, thereby laying a solid foundation for the struggle against bourgeois liberalism.

2. Comparatively speaking, criticism of bourgeois liberalism is relatively easy to do; more difficult are building and destroying in order to build. Efforts to raise the level of Marxism in our theoretical corps, making fullest use of Marxist vigor and creativity in the building of socialist spiritual civilization, by which is meant the application of new situations and answers found in the study of Marxism to newly encountered problems, and thereby enriching and developing Marxism, developing a sinicized Marxist theory of literature and the arts, and building a distinctively Chinese literature and arts science are crucial to the healthy development of socialist literary and artistic endeavors, and also provide a permanent solution.

Yang Zhengrun [2799 2973 3387]: Our differences with the "new tide theorists," in the final analysis, are between materialism and idealism. The idealists have declared a thousand times that they have refuted materialism, but they will have to refute materialism another one thousand and one times. The essence of the struggle has not changed, but news methods have been adopted. The task we face today reminds me of Lenin's *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*. The opponents that Lenin wanted to refute in this work were the Russian Machists, who were, politically, his comrades in the party. Therefore, he had to use completely rational methods to teach them and redeem them so that they would be able to return to the party's correct line. Today, many of the theoreticians with whom we disagree are Communist Party members and party cadres. Our disagreement with them on principle can be resolved only through a completely rational and well-intentioned debate. The basis

for the Russian Machists revision of Marxism was the newest achievements in 19th century physics. In order to completely refute them, Lenin closely studied Machist writings on physics. The theoretical foundation of the new tide theoreticians in China today is more diversified. It includes modern Western psychology, linguistics, phenomenology, symbolics, fuzzy mathematics, systems theory, information theory, and control theory. We are not very familiar with these modern Western fields of endeavor, so we have to do what Lenin did in order to write *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, and what Engels did to write *Anti-Duhring*, which was to use a spirit of "eating sour fruit" in carrying out a deep and painstaking appraisal.

Our task is complex and daunting, but we are by no means pessimistic. The serious challenges that the Marxist literary and artistic point of view face provide a golden opportunity to develop this science. Marxism was developed through struggle, and it is through struggle that it demonstrates its brilliance. I believe that theoretical problems in four areas require debate:

1. The question of the nature of literature and the arts. Literature is a form of ideology in that it reflects life. Life is the sole wellspring of creativity. This is unshakable. The no-intrinsic-quality doctrine and the multiple-intrinsic-quality doctrine, the nonideological doctrine, and the self-expression doctrine, and so forth, of literature and the arts are completely wrong, and are extremely harmful in practice.
2. The question of the social function and the standards for evaluation of literature and the arts. Literature and the arts must serve socialism and serve the people. Literature and the arts are the unity of truth, goodness, and beauty. This has been attested to by all outstanding literary works and upheld by all progressive literary and artistic theories. Denial of the social ends of literature and theories that preach putting art above all else do not hold water, and have actually led to the current unchecked spread of sex literature.
3. The human nature question. The focus of debate about the human nature question has shifted from the relationship between human nature and class nature to the angle of psychology. We completely disagree with the view of human nature as transcending history and society, but issues such as the psychological makeup of authors and the significance of this psychological makeup in their works, the psychological effect of a work on readers, and the psychological expression of characters in literary and artistic works should also be deeply studied under the guidance of materialism as the only way in which to refute thoroughly the doctrine of human nature that transcends history.
4. The question of criticism and carrying on. Taking the cream and leaving the dregs is our overall principle in dealing with the entire cultural legacy. However, some new-tide theoreticians and writers always act contrary to this. For example, they have taken pansexualism and

existentialism from Freud and Sartre without looking at their true worth. We must diligently study and propagandize correct standards for distinguishing the cream from the dregs (mostly toward the modern school).

In order to carry out a sustained, deep, and healthy struggle against bourgeois liberalism on the literary and artistic theory front, I recommend the following:

1. Adoption of realistic measures (such as providing expenses, time, and positions for providing publicity) for the energetic training of young Marxist literary and arts theoreticians to enable them to mature as quickly as possible. This is an important strategic task that should be put into the "Charter of the Chinese Marxist Literature and Arts Theoretical Research Association."
2. With the institution of the policy of opening to the outside world, Western bourgeois ideas have entered and will continue to enter China. Therefore, a "Collection of Books for the Evaluation of Modern Western Civilization" should be written and published under Marxist direction to help the broad masses of youths correctly understand modern Western literature, arts, and civilization.
3. Vigorous improvement of our literary style, using moving and vivid forms gladly accepted by the broad masses in our propagandizing of the Marxist view of literature and the arts and in the development of literary and artistic criticism is an effective way in which to overcome the "contrarian psychology."

Liang Shengming [2733 0524 2494]: One of the main manifestations of the unchecked spread of the bourgeois liberal trend of thought and other mistaken trends of thought in recent years has been the ideological negation and weakening of Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought in guiding literature and the arts. Not only have Wang Ruowang [3769 5387 2596] and Liu Binyan [0491 6333 7159] directly spread views negating the four basic principles and preached bourgeois liberalism, but a small number of comrades have also blindly worshiped and mechanically copied all sorts of Western modernist esthetic principles, and disseminated idealistic and metaphysical things, propagated abstract humanitarianism and alienation doctrines, and advocated extreme individualism and nonrationalism. The goal of some of them in studying theory is not to promote a flourishing of socialist literary and artistic undertakings or to build socialist spiritual civilization, but rather is to win fame and fortune by hook or by crook, or even to make use of the "contrariith regard to theory of some comrades is actually as follows: To shift from "external laws" to "internal laws," to go from the objective to the subjective, to go from the outer world to the inner world, to go from the masses to self, and to go from self to the dual makeup of human nature and animal nature, matters subject to rational restraints being shallow, and matters not subject to rational restraints being deep. Thus, they portray only people's sexual instincts, which leads to the appearance of the "great sexual tide." Works that

appeared recently in issues 1 and 3 of RENMIN WENXUE [PEOPLE'S LITERATURE] might be said to be a concrete manifestation of this theory. Not only was there a novel that vilified our Tibetan compatriots, but there were also two poems. One poem was about the carnal nature of men in the western part of the country, and one was about the cries of women living alone. The first one was reminiscent of "donkeys in heat," and the second was like "cats stirring with desire." This is simply a debasement of literature!

The main reason for the increasing strength in recent years of the bourgeois liberal trend of thought and other mistaken trends of thought is that control over some of our ideological and public opinion positions and our literary and arts publications has not been in the hands of staunch Marxists. For example, the person in charge of a literature and arts theory publication in Gansu Province committed a serious error during the Cultural Revolution in looting the homes of Chang Shuhong [1603 2579 7703] and other comrades. He was also the person in charge of the "Gan Ge" [3927 2047] [possibly Gansu-Gobi] Writing Group, which created ultraleft public opinion immediately in the wake of the gang of four, going from one extreme to the next during the new period. Trendiness and novelty were the actual policies that guided his publications. This was known as the "modern literature and arts vogue," which purveyed many strange tales and weird doctrines that went against the four basic principles. The first issue of 1983 published Xu Jingya's [1776 2417 0068], *Group of Unearthed Poems*, which preached that poets should sing a song "out of harmony with the main theme in society," and not believe in anything previous. After their erroneous methods came under criticism during the campaign to clean up spiritual pollution, they remained unrepentant in recent years, attacking leading comrades on the provincial CPC Committee and comrades in charge in the Central Committee. They also permitted Liu Binyan to publish an article in WENHUI YUEKAN voicing grievances on their behalf. In issue No 1 of 1990 [as published], they went further in publishing Xu Jingya's *Death of Standards*, which advocated that all standards and regulations should be done away with (and which was later withdrawn when comrades in the Propaganda Department of the provincial CPC Committee intervened). They also frequently criticized in publications the basic premises of Marxist theory and Mao Zedong Thought on literature and arts. They said that literature and the arts are not a reflection of social life, and that literature and the arts are typically metaphysical. They said that there is no difference between the lofty and the base in life, and to distinguish between the lofty and the base in literature and the arts is hypocritical. They also said that writing about a heroic age should be ended. Furthermore, they invited some "third-generation" poets in Lanzhou to take part in a poetry theory seminar at which some people said brazenly that those who get poetry published in official publications are the scum of the poetry corps. Poetry is for the masses to read and not for the purpose of kissing

the asses of officials... They also endorsed and lauded such a revealing statement. Doesn't such a publication deserve to be rectified? I feel that a similar situation exists with regard to certain publications at the central government level, and I hope that they will be rectified too. I sincerely hope that the struggle against bourgeois liberalism will continue resolutely, healthily, and enduringly. It absolutely cannot be abandoned in midcourse like the opposition to spiritual pollution; otherwise, the consequences will be unimaginable.

Cheng Daixi [4453 0108 3556]: 1. Does bourgeois liberalism exist in the world of literature and the arts? This is a question to which a clear-cut reply must be given. Not logical deduction but facts must be used to make the reply. Quite a few people have a mistaken understanding of the spirit of Central Committee Document No. 4. As a result, during the past several months, leading organs in the world of literature and the arts have evidenced no seeking of truth in facts. Central Committee Document No. 8, clearly points to the origins and unpleasant results of bourgeois liberalism in literature and the arts. During the period of the fourth China Writers Association, those in charge of the All-China Federation of Literature and Arts Circles said that the Congress was a "Zunyi Meeting" [a reference to the enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau held in January 1935 at Zunyi, Guizhou Province]. Leaders of the China Writers Association have yet to make a clear-cut statement about this extremely erroneous remark, which is to say they have yet to maintain ideological unanimity with the Central Committee.

During the past several years during which bourgeois liberal ideology has spread unchecked in literary and arts circles to become a scourge, some theoretical articles have negated the socialist orientation of "two for's" [for the basic levels, for the masses]. They openly call for letting Marxist reflection theory "die a natural death" and substituting "pluralism" for the commanding position of Marxism, or else they slander Marxism as "feudal despotism." Some people also write articles that Marxist theory about literature and the arts is nothing but "stray fragments of text" that is in no way a system, and some openly deny the existence of Marxist literature and the arts as an academic field. Others seek to replace Marxism with humanitarianism, or they term Marxism abstract humanitarianism. In addition, some people use the slogans "freedom of creativity," and "the author to take full responsibility for his views" to oppose party leadership of literature and the arts. Some even use all possible means to abolish party leadership of literature and the arts, etc. All this shows the existence in literature and arts circles of a struggle between two paths and two ideologies. Do not the formulations of the "Zunyi Meeting" explain from the negative side the struggle between these two paths?

Recently, comrades in charge of the Chinese Writers Association and the All-China Federation of Literature and Arts Circles have been studying Central Committee documents, particularly Document No. 8. This is fine.

As an ordinary member of the Chinese Writers Association, I hope they will get rid of their apprehensions, rally their spirits, conscientiously grasp the essential spirit of the Central Committee documents, and "reexamine," by seeking truth from facts, the work done and the philosophical thinking of the past several years in a return to Marxism.

2. The dialogue between the editor of a certain literary publication and Li Yi [2621 1837], the editor of the Hong Kong anticommunist publication, CHIUSHIH NIENTAI [THE NINETIES], is in violation of party discipline, and is a complete departure from the correct stand of a Communist Party member. In that dialogue, Liu Xinwu [0491 1800 2976] delivered a venomous personal attack against renowned literature and arts expert Comrade Chen Yong [7115 8673], which cannot be tolerated. It is hoped that after investigating the basic facts, the Central Discipline Committee and the Chinese Writers Association will uphold justice and handle matters severely.

3. During 1986, there were several national and international literary conferences, such as the Young Critics Conference and the New Period Literature Decade Seminar (chaired by Liu Zaifu [0491 0375 1788]), as well as the Academic Conference to Commemorate the 50th Anniversary of the Death of Lu Xun (chaired by Liu Zaifu, and the first international conference), and the Chinese and Foreign Writers Conference convened in Shanghai, all of which had a bad influence, and some of which even had a very bad influence.

Li Xifan [2621 1585 0416]: The enduring and arduous nature of this struggle should be fully estimated. I always feel that the "internal injury" is too great, and the scope too great. Some leading comrades' willful revision of Marxist literary and arts theory and Mao Zedong Thought lacks careful consideration. An example is saying that Marxist literary and arts theory is not systematic. Young people, who are presumptuous and lack knowledge, can get away with saying such things, but when some of our leading comrades do so, it creates chaos and causes serious consequences. The denial of Mao Zedong Thought on literature and the arts has been greatest. No mention is made of probing the realities of life; "changing one's world outlook" is also out of date; and even whether there are tendencies in literature and the arts has been called into question. When we ourselves rob Marxist literary and arts theory of its credibility in this way, what guiding ideology is there? Just how many writers today believe in Marxism, and how many of them practice a "two for's" orientation deserves to be reflected on and reexamined.

Our party's progressive policy, clear statements, and elimination of apprehensions about this struggle is entirely correct. However, this is not tantamount to saying that there is no connection between bourgeois liberalism and literature and the arts. Avoiding the issue is of no benefit in solving the problems in literature and the arts.

Ye Shuifu [0673 3055 1133]: Comrade Li Fu [3574 1788] explained extremely clearly the origin and development of the struggle to support the four principles and to oppose bourgeois liberalism. Although comrades attending this meeting may have experienced a different sense of sadness and indignation when he spoke, and they may be in a different position than he, they all had similar feelings. Comrade Jingzhi's [2417 0037] outlining of events since the beginning of this struggle, particularly his discussion of several things that have to be done to get results from this struggle, and his emphasis on no use of "leftism" to oppose the right, all reflect the spirit of the Central Committee. He both analyzed the turn for the better in the situation following the change in climate and he also pointed out the arduous nature of future tasks. I feel his remarks were realistic. I feel there may be yet another matter to be done, namely to do all possible to inform more comrades in the literature and arts world of statements and events pertaining to literary and artistic issues from top to bottom prior to the recent Central Committee changes in personnel. Not only will this help abolish the apprehensions and conflicting feelings of some comrades, but, more important, it can make some comrades wake up and face realities, and go on to link hands with even more comrades, and begin to write. The issuance of Document No. 8 served this purpose. Naturally, not everything in the future will be in the form of a Central Committee document. In short, formal channels should be used to maintain contact from top to bottom.

During the past several years, China's literature and arts world has introduced quite a few new works and new theories from abroad, particularly from Europe and the Americas. These have had the effect of expanding people's horizons and widening their field of thought. Suitable lessons have been drawn from useful things among them. At the same time, however, there has also been a distortion of Lu Xun's "principles of internalization," the blind introduction of the modern bourgeois trend of thought and point of view regarding literature and the arts, and of literary and artistic works themselves. These have been given an across-the-board endorsement without evaluation, or have even been given homage. This latter circumstance requires that we diligently apply Marxism as a guide in conducting a cleanup, distinguish those that are of use, those that are of no use, and those that are harmful, and make choices. This is an unshirkable duty of those involved in theoretical work on literature and the arts.

Bao Chang [7637 2490]: (Gist of written statement.) Despite the many accomplishments of the literature and arts world in recent years, and the vigor of both creativity and criticism, some fairly serious mistaken trends have also appeared. Quite a few people have confused ideas, which provide an opportunity for the unchecked spread of bourgeois liberal ideas. In such a situation, the training and building of a Marxist corps of theoreticians in the field of literature and the arts assumes unprecedented importance. Of course, the training and building

of a large creative corps that truly serves the people and socialism is also extremely important. I hope that the Central Committee and leaders of propaganda departments at all levels will formulate effective and specific measures to provide the necessary conditions for the rapid growth and strengthening of such a corps that will be able to make the contribution it should in the application of the principles of Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought for the healthy development of the cause of socialist literature and the arts.

Ding Zhenhai [0002 2182 3189]: I believe that a reply to whether bourgeois liberalism exists in the literature and arts world may be found in a look at the following matters: 1) Whether the literature and arts world is or is not a part of the realm of political ideology is a matter about which there should be no doubt. 2) As for the correlation between literature and the arts and politics, not all literature and art has a marked political bent, but many written reviews and works do have a pronounced political bent and coloration. 3) Naturally, writers cannot be excluded from discussions of political matters. Good ones should be urged and encouraged to do so, but some writers and critics have employed "political discussion" to spread quite a few bourgeois liberal statements such as preaching that the "bourgeois stage cannot be skipped" in China. 4) Some writers have spread feelings of dissatisfaction and doubt about the socialist system, and some works have vilified the party, the people, and the armed forces. Examples include *Show Your Tongue Coating or Nothingness* and some works on the theme of the counterattack in self-defense against Vietnam, etc. 5) The world of literature and the arts has both representatives of bourgeois liberalism and classic cases of it. These include Wang Ruowang [3769 5387 2598] and Liu Binyan [0491 6333 7159], the fourth All-China Writers' Association talks by editors of certain literary publications, and the editor of *CHIUSHIH NIENTAI* [THE NINETIES], and the affair involving the first and second issues of of this year's *RENMIN WENXUE* [PEOPLE'S LITERATURE], and so on.

Liu Jin [0491 6855]: One of the main reason for the unchecked spread to epidemic proportions of the bourgeois liberal trend of thought in the world of literature and the arts was the inability of CPC Committee propaganda departments from the central government to the provincial and city levels to enforce leadership over literature and arts units. Following the smashing of the gang of four, some people in the world of literature and the arts developed a liberal trend that sought to get rid of the leadership of the party. As early as 1979, Wang Ruowang from Shanghai said openly that "In at least five years, the party should not control literature and the arts." Following the fourth All-China Writers' Association, he traveled everywhere making reports that said, "It is good when the leaders sleep. When the leaders sleep, literature and the arts thrive!" On the eve of the fourth All-China Writers' Association, this kind of liberal demand on the part of a small number of people finally evoked a response from the Central Committee

leaders. The congress passed along the speech of Comrade Hu Yaobang as follows: "During mass groups elections, what is there for you (CPC Committees) to control! Let them elect whomever they want." The following also circulated inside the Shanghai delegation: The third Shanghai Literature Congress was criticized. Consequently, the four candidates for director whom the branch congress secretariat had earlier nominated, discussed, and approved, and who had been agreed to by the municipal CPC Committee Propaganda Department, were withdrawn. Subsequently, Wang Ruowang presented a motion: "Du Xuan [2629 1357] should also be withdrawn. He was very active during the campaign to clean up spiritual pollution." As a result, Comrade Du Xuan's name was also withdrawn.

I believe that the fourth All-China Writer's Association, which worked in concert from top to bottom, completely abolished the organizational and ideological leadership of the party over literature and the arts (unconditional freedom to create), thereby enabling some people to move ahead without misgivings to kick out of positions of leadership in the Chinese Writers Association many fine comrades who upheld the four basic principles, and who took a clear-cut stand against bourgeois liberalism. The bourgeois liberal trend of thought became worse and worse in the world of literature and the arts, and could not be contained. This was a serious lesson. Therefore, I believe that opposition to bourgeois liberalism, as well as support for and strengthening of leadership over literary and arts work is an urgent need.

Fan Yang [2753 2799]: Literature and arts circles in Guangdong have a saying as follows: Admittedly, the liberalism that comes from the West is frightening, but we dare to stand up to it; it is the liberalism that comes from Beijing that we cannot stand up to. This is because the liberalism that comes from the West is easy to identify. It has no official backing, so it is easy to stand up to. But who knows the views of central authorities about liberalism that comes from Beijing. How can one stand up to it! For example, Lenin's words were quoted in speeches about "creative freedom." We knew that the overall intent was not in keeping with Lenin's original meaning, but since that was said in the congratulatory speech to the fourth All-China Writers' Association, and since that was the explanation that the authoritative persons in the literature and arts fields gave, we could not very well stand up to it. Not only could we not stand up to it, but we had to go along with it. Some freedom! For some people, there was very great freedom; for others, there was no freedom at all. Could Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Mao be quoted in articles or in speech? As soon as you opened your mouth, others cursed you for being a "leftist" emperor. Not only did they curse you, but they also fabricated quite a few stories, which were entirely fictitious, that vilified you and made you unable to raise your head. Even organizational methods were employed to make your life completely miserable. It was impossible to understand how in a liberated, Communist Party-led country the quoting

of Marx and Lenin could become a problem. Should this be? Not only was it very difficult, but also very painful as well.

Some basically decent young comrades who went to study in Beijing for a short period of time even changed their manner of speaking. Their speech was larded with incomprehensible words and technical terms. Just what methods and what ideology do we use to train people? Liberal thoughts in society, outside the party, and in some young comrades are not frightening as long as our leading units are clear-headed and take steps. What is frightening is when power-wielding and so-called authoritative party member experts and leaders pass along such irresponsible and harmful views. We have always vaguely felt that certain factional matters played a role in inseparably linking to Beijing certain liberal trends of thought. It will not do for this problem to remain unsolved.

Lin Hanbiao [2651 3211 5903]: In the field of drama, a question of principle about whether to strengthen party leadership or or to get away from party leadership has existed during the past two years. Some comrades in the drama field hold erroneous ideas and attitudes on this question, some individuals express a serious tendency to free themselves from party leadership, thereby generating a bad influence. For example, at the drama congress held following the All-China Writers' Association, some individuals attempted to break free from party leadership, resorting to making the individual foremost, scrambling for power and profit, engaging in small movements, acting from a limitless higher plane of principle toward comrades, attacking and excluding them, and slandering and reviling them, etc. the Central Committee Propaganda Department did not take charge of the drama congress as it should have. In order to get control of seats, some individuals engaged in frequent maneuvers, issued lavish praise, created a huge uproar, and placed the four basic principles completely at the back of their minds, thereby damaging the unity of drama circles. Such a congress is frightening!

A "Dramatic Literature Society" that was organized at the drama congress used the guise of "pleading on behalf of the people" to arrogate to itself "responsibility" for organizing public performances of "controversial works" and practicing the "freedom to perform." Thus, its activities provoked inspection and supervision of public performances by CPC Committees and cultural administrative organs at all levels. The society was actually exerting pressure and playing the devil's advocate. If its purpose had been to assist the party in improving leadership over drama, it would not have gone about matters in this way. For example, whenever a play appeared over which the armed forces had control, it would take it to a local organization for public performance, thereby creating disharmony between the armed forces and the local jurisdiction. It even planned to organize the performance of such plays in Shenzhen to gain the support of people from abroad and of public opinion, and it prepared to issue "monster awards," and

"strong typhoon awards." What was the big idea? (This was halted later.) Was this strengthening the party's leadership, or was it freeing itself from or even opposing party leadership? Even if it were so-called "organizing contention," can the use of such tactics be considered honest? Shouldn't those concerned do some self-examination about such egregious violations of organizational discipline? If such practices are tolerated and winked at in the performance of socialist plays, it can only show that we are soft on and permissive about bourgeois liberalism. It is doing such things that poses a real danger for drama!

The article that Wu Zuguang [0709 4371 0342] published, titled "The Drama Inspection System Should be Abolished," was the society's theoretical foundation. Wu's article greatly vilified our party's image by lumping together the Kuomintang's inspection system with our party's drama inspection system. This only shows that Wu Zuguang's position is entirely wrong! His issuance of such a statement as a member of the Communist Party amounts to a public endorsement of liberalism, doesn't it? Nevertheless, he has yet to be criticized for it.

Liu Shaotang [0491 4801 2768]: Had the struggle against spiritual pollution not been abandoned in midcourse, our literary works would not be in the shape they are in. Therefore, in the present struggle against bourgeois liberalism, we must persevere to the end and continue to the very bottom of things. If we again do only half the job, one can hardly imagine what a repetition will mean. Eradicating the recurrence of spiritual pollution teaches a very painful lesson, and opposition to bourgeois liberalism is an extremely arduous struggle. I believe that the contradictory feelings existing inside China can be cleared away, and it will be possible to stand fast. However, "foreign pressures" are greater this time, so can we stand fast? I am very worried.

Document No. 8 and Document No. 10 must be applied in organizing the line in order to truly show a clear-cut stand and a firm attitude. This is the only way to enable comrades to uphold the Marxist standpoint to have a clear concept, to buttress their confidence, and to stimulate their fighting will.

Yang Bing [2799 2671]: I believe it is necessary to consider strategically the issue of building Marxist literature, the arts, and esthetics.

1. Consideration of the strategic position of Marxist theory regarding literature, the arts, and esthetics in terms of overall requirements for building socialist spiritual civilization is the scientific strategy for proletarian literature, the arts, and esthetics. We must unswervingly uphold its guiding role for literature, the arts, and esthetics, not allowing any other theory of literature, the arts, and esthetics to supplant its guiding position.

2. Complete casting off of the old habit of proceeding from bookish concepts and definitions and adhering to the practice of beginning from objectively existing realities. The difference between the correct methods of the

Marxist dialectic materialism method and all mistaken methods such as idealism and ideological methods is, first of all, a difference about the starting point.

3. Study of classic Marxist theories must be linked to proletarian understanding and practice in transforming the world.

4. Energetic study of the proletariat's own literary, artistic, and esthetic experiences, both in China and abroad. In the study of these experiences in China, special emphasis should be placed on experiences in the revolutionary literature and arts movement in soviet areas and liberated areas. There are numerous problems in this regard worth studying, such as the two major conflicts of the proletarian revolutionary literature and arts movement with the bourgeoisie and the intellectuals.

5. The prominent contradictions of current Chinese theory on literature, the arts, and esthetics are Marxist social ideology theory and the dynamic reflection theory of revolution, which are in conflict with the philosophical, literary, and esthetic trends of thought of Western bourgeois subjective idealism. The problem today is still the problem that Engels posed in 1886 and Lenin posed in 1908 of the need to look at issues from the heights of a philosophical world view. One must pose problems in

terms of two different ideological systems. One cannot consider matters as they stand, and one cannot think about them in a subjective, idealistic way.

6. In doing a good job of publishing and putting out books, it is also necessary to establish lofty aspirations and great ideals, editing an *Encyclopedia of Marxist Literature, the Arts, and Aesthetics*.

7. New trails must be blazed in college textbooks on literature and arts theory, taking Marx and Lenin as the basis.

8. Founding an institution of higher education dedicated to the training of Marxist literature, arts, and esthetics personnel for the assignment of permanent cadres to literary and arts groups for the purpose of propagandizing, scientifically studying, teaching, translating, editing, and publishing literature, the arts, and esthetics.

9. Use of large statues, sculptures, and architecture throughout the country to publicize proletarian revolutionary teachers as well as outstanding proletarian and historical personages.

10. Unanimity in upholding Marxism-Leninism, in upholding party spirit, and in uniting with the many.